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Standard

SEPTEMBER 16, 2002

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DO THE DEMOCRATS HAVE A FUTURE?
BRAD CARSON (D-OK)

THE HUNTING OF STEVEN HATFILL

Why are so many people eager to believe that he is the anthrax killer? By David Tell

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A world of ideas on public policy.

Modernizing Health Insurance to Pay for Medical Progress

by J. D. Kleinke

Recent dramatic improvements in public health in the United States all point to one source: major pharmaceutical breakthroughs during the past decade. Americans today have access to more and better drugs, but this medical progress is expensive. In numerous therapeutic areas, better medicines increase costs, at least in the short run. In other areas, better medicines that produce short-run savings add costs in the long run. The answer to this problem is not to control drug prices or restrict access to innovative therapies. Instead, federal and state laws regulating health insurance and provider risk-sharing need to be revamped to encourage, rather than constrain, the social progress embodied in expensive, breakthrough medical technologies.

Although many new medicines reduce medical costs over the long run, many do not pay off quickly enough for health insurers. Public and private payers have responded by using various means – such as arbitrary drug "caps," crude utilization review methods, and design manipulations of benefit plans – to control "excessive" spending on pharmaceuticals. Such measures almost always have negative results for patient welfare.

Healthcare purchasers and payers should make their spending decisions with a selectivity based on clinical and economic value – a sophistication that stands in stark contrast to today's price-driven "tiering" of coverage and co-payment. Price and utilization controls are ineffective and counter-productive because they attempt to reverse two profound, historic phenomena at work in the U.S. healthcare system. The added costs associated with breakthrough medicines represent a major structural shift from the provision of traditional medical services to the consumption of medical products. They also represent the creation of economic, social, and public health utility that we value as a society.

Unfortunately, our current health insurance system – including Medicare – is hopelessly out of step with the inevitable rotation of medical care delivery from services to technology. The absence of a Medicare outpatient prescription drug benefit is the most glaring illustration of this problem.

> ***Federal and state laws regulating health insurance and provider risk-sharing need to be revamped to encourage rather than constrain the social progress embodied in expensive, breakthrough medical technologies***

The changing mix of drug costs and other medical expenses imposes upon payers the maddening task of rationalizing and managing aggregate healthcare spending. Different classes of medicines pose starkly different value propositions for payers. Most insurers – focused on quarterly or annual financial targets – willingly pay for "expensive" new drugs (such as anticoagulant therapy for stroke) that reduce short-term health-care costs. These drugs are a bargain for payers and society, compared with the costs of the chronic diseases that they delay, manage, or prevent. But insurers have far less incentive to reimburse other "expensive" medicines that decrease medical costs only after several years, if at all. In the latter category are drugs that reduce only non-medical costs (such as those borne by employers), or that actually increase long-term costs by extending the lives of patients with chronic illnesses, or that significantly improve people's lives without saving any money at all, as many so-called "lifestyle drugs" do.

The best way to rationalize the conflicting value propositions created by "expensive" new medicines is to fix several major flaws in our current health insurance system. First, establish tax parity for all health benefits and non-covered medical expenses; this would neutralize the role of the employer in switching health plans, reduce enrollee turnover, and push out the pharmaceutical investment horizon for insurers. Second, relax federal laws that galvanize the separation of physicians and hospitals and thus doom the market's desire to manage pharmacy costs by managing economic incentives of providers. Third, establish federal mandates for classes of drugs with enormous clinical value but negative economic returns, eliminating the compulsion of insurers and self-insured employers to underpay for drugs that provide no short-term medical cost savings.

The health insurance system is struggling mightily to pay for our great medical progress. Today, doing the right thing for patients is too often the wrong thing for insurance company shareholders. We should accept this fact of our medical progress and adapt our insurance system accordingly. Our society will not tolerate explicit rationing. Our only recourses are to make implicit rationing transparent and to pay for our medical progress the good old-fashioned way: collectively, through better health insurance coverage.

J. D. Kleinke is president of Health Strategies Network, a health information technology research company in Denver, Colorado. ***A full-length version of this editorial was originally published in the September/October 2001 issue of*** **Health Affairs** ***as "The Price of Progress: Prescription Drugs in the Health Care Market."*** ***Copyright (c) 2001. www.healthaffairs.org***

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When It Raines It Pours, cont.

When is a correction not really a correction? Several weeks ago, THE SCRAPBOOK took note of the *New York Times*'s increasingly strident campaign against the coming war on Iraq. The *Times* had reported, on its front page (August 16), that top Republicans had begun to "break with the administration on Iraq," and had included in that group former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The good doctor had, in fact, written an essay in the *Washington Post* defending the Bush administration's policy of preemption and offering numerous reasons to support the removal of Saddam Hussein. Wrote Kissinger: "The imminence of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the huge dangers it involves, the rejection of a viable inspection system and the demonstrated hostility of Hussein combine to produce an imperative for preemptive action." The *Times* repeated this mistake in an article on August 17.

So THE SCRAPBOOK was heartened when the *Times* ran a "correction" of those stories last week. Kind of. The *Times* conceded that it should not have included Kissinger in the group of Republicans "who were warning outright against a war," and even conceded that Kissinger "said that a war was justifiable."

But the *Times* didn't stop there. Instead, they proceeded with what you might call an editorial-within-a-correction: "Republicans are in fact divided, both over the way Mr. Bush is preparing for the possibility of war and over whether the United States should attack Iraq." And Kissinger, the *Times* added, "said that removing Mr. Hussein from power—Mr. Bush's justification for war—was not an appropriate goal. He said an attack on Iraq should be directed toward a more limited aim, eradicating weapons of mass destruction."

So there! Except Kissinger *does* believe removing Saddam Hussein from power is an appropriate goal. In the interest of rallying as many countries as possible to our cause (and of discouraging other countries from regime-change adventure), he urged that "the objective of regime change should be subordinated in American declaratory policy to the need to eliminate weapons of mass destruction from Iraq as required by the U.N. resolutions." But Kissinger emphasizes that in the case of Iraq there is no practical distinction between the goals of removing Saddam and disarming Iraq. The one requires the other. So the *Times*'s notion that Kissinger favors one goal and disapproves of the other is simply false.

Why the reluctance simply to admit error? *Times* executive editor Howell Raines provided some insight in a September 3 appearance on Jim Lehrer's *News Hour*. He thinks this is the Vietnam war all over again, and that his paper can head off disaster before it strikes. Raines twice invoked the war in Vietnam as an analogue to the current discussions about Iraq.

"I think we're going to see some revisitations of journalistic history," he predicted. "For example, as the Iraq debate plays out . . . I'm hearing a lot of echoes of the early '60s, when people were saying it was unpatriotic to report the debate over Vietnam."

We can't gainsay that Raines is hearing echoes—but we suspect this has less to do with the nature of the war on terror and more to do with the fact that the man works in an ideological echo chamber.

A forthcoming study by the Center for Media and Public Affairs concludes that the *Times's* reporting on Iraq has been measurably skewed. The group examined front page stories in the *Times* from July 1 to August 25. Two-thirds of them featured quotations evaluating the Bush administration's Iraq policy. A mere 29 percent were favorable, and 71 percent unfavorable. Even among the Republicans cited by the paper, including Bush and members of his administration, only 42 percent were positive, and 58 percent were negative. In other words, if you read only the *Times*, you'd conclude that Republicans—and everyone else, for that matter—are against President Bush's Iraq policy.

Just so we're clear on this point: No one doubts the *New York Times*'s patriotism (well, someone probably does, but we don't). It's their professionalism people increasingly wonder about. ♦

Ja wohl, mein General Inspector!

Last week, the *Times* of London reported that Germany has revived its infamous General Staff as part of its military reorganization in light of recent actions taken by the army in Kosovo, Macedonia, and now in Afghanistan. German defense minister Peter Struck was careful to downplay its reinstatement. According to the *Times*, "the aim is clear: full authority for military planning will pass to senior officers rather than to the civilian Minister of Defence. Previously chiefs of the army, air force, and navy responded only to orders from the minister: now they have a general issuing commands."

Sounds harmless enough, despite

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previous general staffs' responsibility for achievements like the Schlieffen Plan, Dunkirk, and Operation Barbarossa. The new head, however, to reassure the Germanophobes, will not be called "Chief of the General Staff and High Command" (*Chef des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht*), but rather "General Inspector" (*Generalinspekteur*)—a position filled by such predecessors as Count Helmuth von Moltke, Paul von Hindenburg, Nazi hack Wilhelm Keitel, and the ever-bumbling Colonel Klink (okay, the last one we made up).

Still, who knows? Perhaps such restructuring can be put to good use this time around. Despite Chancellor Schröder's firm opposition to invading Iraq, newly empowered military officers might be more inclined to see the merits of a Baghdad Blitz. ♦

The Great Firewall of China

Our friends at the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page are hopeful that the free flow of information enabled by the Internet will one day subvert the Communist regime in Beijing. On balance, they argue, we shouldn't complain when the likes of Yahoo! collaborate with Chinese authorities as the price of doing business in China. Let's hope they're right.

In the meantime, though, it looks like Beijing is subverting the Net rather than the other way round. On August 31, Chinese users of Google began reporting error messages when they tried to access the popular Internet search engine. Less than a week later, AltaVista was blocked as well. A favorite in China thanks to its easy-to-use Chinese interface, Google has now joined the not-so-exclusive club of sites forbidden to the 45 million Chinese users of the Internet.

Some speculate that the blocks may have been thrown up in preparation for the upcoming Communist party congress, at which China's next leader is expected to be chosen. The congress convenes once every five years, and widespread access to information about the proceedings is the last thing the CP wants.

Then again, maybe it's just a coincidence, since no one in the Chinese government seems to know who threw up the blocks. The Ministry of Information Industry disclaims responsibility, as do the Public Security Ministry and the Foreign Ministry.

The block on Google is particularly lamentable since Google not only provides links to web pages, but also stores copies of web pages, allowing access to them when their home servers are blocked.

And no doubt it's another coincidence that access to Yahoo!'s search engine has been unaffected by the outages. Funny thing: A search for President Jiang Zemin's name on Chinese Google, by the way, turns up 156,000 hits. Yahoo! China fetches a measly 24 results, probably because of their agreement to make nice with the government. Some subversion. ♦

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Casual

Smart Set

So I'm on a tennis court, trying to improve my game. The Catskill mountains tower over the clay surface, their inanimate majesty making a mockery of my all-too-human effort at athleticism.

I've traveled 100 miles from my home in Brooklyn to a rather Spartan facility called Total Tennis for a four-day stay. Guests take five hours of lessons a day. Then, after those five hours are over, you can play in various mini-tournaments. I've never exercised this much in my life. I'm as dazed as if I had eaten dessert nonstop for five hours.

Over the hours, I've learned some things that I never figured out in all my 30 years of playing very, very poor tennis. For example, I didn't know you should stand sideways when you hit a ball. Nor did I know I was supposed to watch the ball as I hit it. My playing has improved dramatically just from those two tips.

This is basic stuff. Tennis 101. Why didn't I know it before? Somebody must have told me, and I forgot.

But wait, there's more. Swing through the ball. Hit the ball rising. On a serve, act like you're going to throw your racket. Toss the ball at 1 o'clock when you're serving. Hold the racket with your other hand before a backhand swing to force your shoulders to turn.

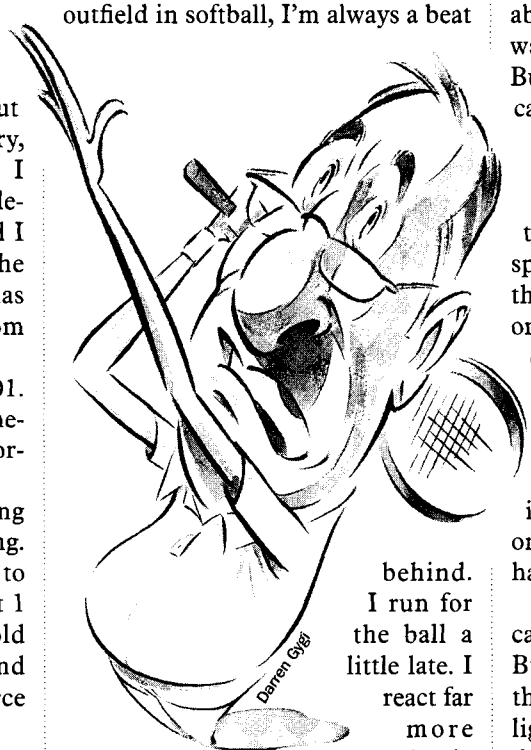
The instructions pile up. In a matter of a second or two, you're supposed to be able to think about and execute four or five separate moves and actions.

How can I possibly do all this? How can I keep all these commands in mind? It's too hard, too complicated. This is utterly beyond me. I can't imagine how anybody can manage it.

Then it hits me: I'm stupid. This is what being stupid feels like.

I don't have a particularly high opinion of myself, but I do have a certain facility when it comes to facts and ideas. I can read Russian novels and keep the names of dozens of characters straight. I can do division in my head. I get cultural and political references, can toss back a quip in response to a witticism.

But if I'm swinging a tennis racquet or trying to play outfield in softball, I'm always a beat behind. I run for the ball a little late. I react far more slowly than I would if, say, the thing being thrown at me were a question about who directed *Gone With the Wind*. And when it comes to hitting a tennis ball where I want it to go or throwing a softball to the catcher or second baseman, my aim just isn't true.



It has ever been thus. As a kid in Manhattan, I played schoolyard basketball almost obsessively, every day, for years. I could pass the ball and dribble okay, but my shooting was entirely hit and miss. If effort and time expended had been enough, I would have become a terrific basketball player. Instead, I rose to a level of profound mediocrity and remained there.

Fine. I'm no athlete. I've understood that for years. But what I've realized here at Total Tennis is that being an athlete isn't simply a matter of having better eyesight or quick reflexes. It goes far beyond that. Athletes possess a distinctive kind of intelligence.

We've all learned in the past decade or so from the work of Daniel Goleman, among others, that there is a quality known as "emotional intelligence"—which is the ability to understand emotions the way intellectuals understand ideas. But no one ever talks about "physical intelligence."

The physically intelligent are able to react to their surroundings and to subtle changes in those surroundings with effortless speed. They can do that because they can see and sense a tennis court or a baseball diamond from a variety of perspectives without even knowing they're doing it. The physically intelligent can see where the tennis ball is, where the opponent's racquet is aiming it, even the way the wind will work on the ball—all before the other guy has even made contact.

I'm pleased that my time at tennis camp has made me a better player. But after four days of play, I know that I will always lack physical intelligence, and that I will have to make do as best I can without it. I can only hope that if I find myself playing against someone who is more physically intelligent than I, he will have more patience with me than I've had betimes with those who don't know that Victor Fleming directed *Gone With the Wind* or who the brothers Karamazov are.

John Podhoretz

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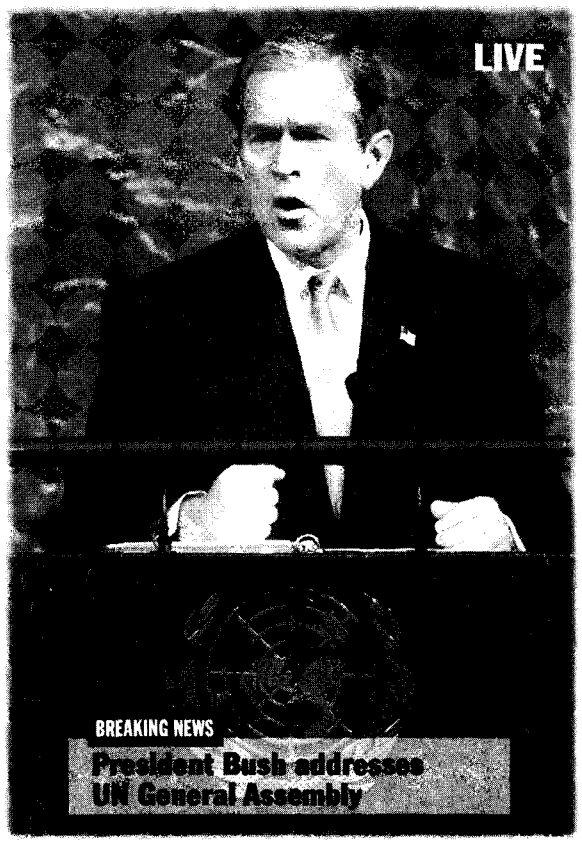

What's the news?

Will Congress send President Bush to the UN on September 12th with good news to report? Or will he go with America's overdue UN bills still unpaid?

As the President prepares to address world leaders at the United Nations, America is about to break an important promise because Congress is failing to act. It's up to Congress to release our third and final arrears payment and authorize us to pay our fair share of peacekeeping dues before the President speaks to the UN next week.

If Congress acts now, President Bush will be able to deliver more than a speech on September 12th. He will be able to deliver on America's commitment to the UN.

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Axis and Allies

The more people write against Brent Scowcroft's misleading *Wall Street Journal* article, as William Kristol does in "Axis of Appeasement" (August 26/September 2), the better. And the more people recognize and make noise about Colin Powell's strange stewardship of the State Department, the better, too. I should hate to have the president suddenly converted to their way of thinking, and subject us all to several more years of "containment" and "dialogue" and those interminable "peace processes" which have masqueraded as foreign policy in the Middle East for as long as I can remember. We have a big hole in the New York skyline to remind us how successful all of that has been.

High time we had a president who recognizes, as Ronald Reagan did with the Soviets, that "business as usual" has been a failure, and that we'd better try something else before it is too late.

J.L. Schallert
Cambridge, WI

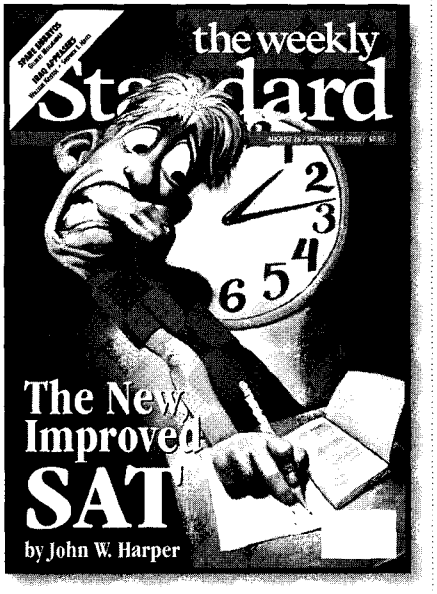
William Kristol attacks those who think a preemptive attack on a nation that poses no military threat to the continental United States is an appalling example of 21st-century American imperialism. American principles respect the rights of other peoples and nations to live and order their lives as they see fit. They do not sanction invasion of countries simply because we do not like their foreign policy or their military capability. Brent Scowcroft is right when he says in his *Wall Street Journal* column that Saddam Hussein has no interest in the United States except insofar as we thwart his ambitions to control oil policy in the Middle East, an oil policy that currently favors America.

If Kristol's logic is applied, we can expect President Bush (and his lap dog The Weekly Standard) to want to move into Saudi Arabia and other nations that fail to cower under the claw of the U.S. eagle. The only kind of morality in the Bush plans is a monstrous immorality that the world rightly condemns.

Richard A. Currie
Staten Island, NY

The media are doing their best to roll out any bit of opposition to a forward-looking foreign policy regarding Iraq. Interestingly enough, the debate is framed around the "Arab Street," not human rights. These organizations and individuals are so quick to criticize the administration's treatment of al Qaeda operatives, but care little for the faceless Iraqis who live under Saddam's oppression. They, of course, care even less for the American casualties that Saddam will unleash with weapons of mass destruction. Just don't upset the Arab Street.

However, it is not a "street." It's much more like a back alley, in that there are



only two things that are respected there —hard currency and crushing force.

Once Saddam falls and the mullahs of Iran are picked off, and perhaps even the House of Saud and the Assads of Syria, the world will be a much, much safer place. Osama bin Laden and his lieutenants will have no more money to run their operations, and they'll be easy to spot. After all, nobody wants to protect a penniless bad guy.

Peter G. Byrnes Jr.
Severn, MD

Let Me Count the Ways

We were interested to read Joshua Muravchik's account of the way Marc Herold's "dossier" on civilian casualties has been used in the foreign press ("The Prof Who Can't Count Straight," August 26/September 9).

One inaccuracy should be corrected, however. Muravchik states, "Herold's claims have been little reported in the United States." As part of a project analyzing media coverage of the war on terrorism, we have been carefully tracking the use of Professor Herold's work, which we believe to be the original source of the (clearly incorrect) factoid "as many innocent civilians died in the bombing as died in the World Trade Center." Among other outlets, this dossier has been cited as a serious report or study, with no mention of the controversy it has elicited, in the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (January 4 and January 27, 2002), the *Boston Globe* (January 19, 2002), which notes Herold uses the Afghan Islamic Press, but does not explain the significance of that fact, and even the *New York Times* (February 10, 2002). The closest any of these articles comes to a critique is to note that other studies of media sources had produced lower numbers.

Indeed, an editorial published in the *Baltimore Sun* on January 20 of this year ("Long, hard road to victory," Jonathan Frerichs) actually argued: "He corroborates accounts and keeps his figures *conservative*." (Our emphasis.)

Multiple critiques of this work have already been circulated; suffice it to say we believe it difficult to produce an accurate count of civilian casualties in Afghanistan from New Hampshire. It is interesting to note, by the way, that another study, produced by a team of AP reporters on the ground in Afghanistan, who suggested civilian casualties in the mid-500s, has not received nearly as much attention, and none in the national prestige press.

Apparently the elite media are so enamored of their belief that a sustained bombing campaign could not have taken place without high civilian casualties that they would prefer to believe a dossier based on methods that appear "peculiar" (Muravchik's word) rather than less incendiary estimates from their own colleagues working in the field.

Cori Dauber
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Scott Deatherage
Northwestern University

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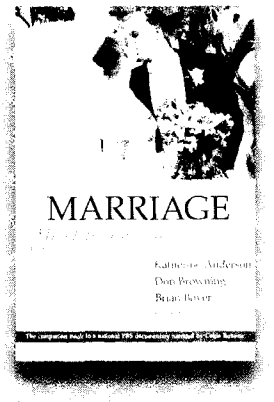

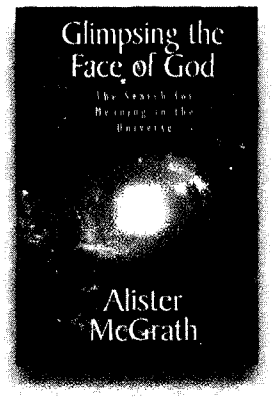

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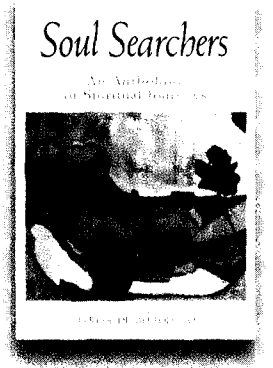

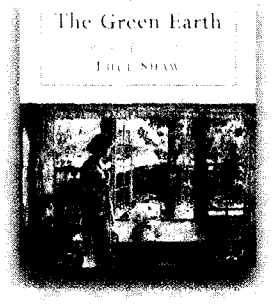

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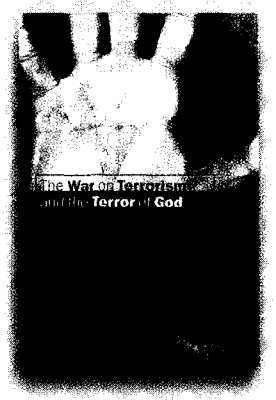

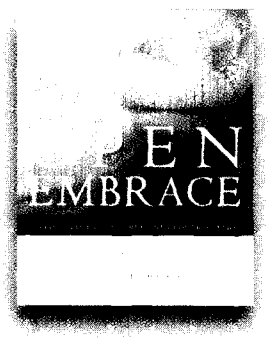

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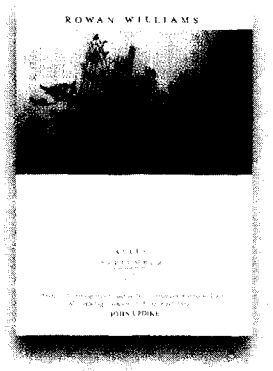

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~ Since marijuana remains detectable for as long as a month (while alcohol, heroin and cocaine for only a day or two[1]), testing will encourage students and workers to switch to more dangerous drugs. Can you imagine anything dumber?

~ The most effective method of preventing adolescent drug abuse is keeping youths active and learning after school when many parents are working and kids are not supervised.[2] Why would we want to put up barriers to kids participating in after school activities?

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[1] Hawks and Chiang, "Examples of Specific Drug Assays, Urine Testing for Drugs of Abuse", Research Monograph No. 73 (1986); McBay, "Interpretation of Blood and Urine Cannabinoid Concentrations", 33 J. Forensic Sci 875-83 (1988); Ambre, J. et al, "Urinary Excretion of Cocaine Berzoylecgonine and Ecgonine Methyl Ester in Human", J. Analytical Toxicology (1988); Ellis et al, "Excretion Patterns of Cannabinoid Metabolites After Last Use in a Group of Chronic Users, 38 Clinical Pharmacology & Therapeutics", 572-78 (1985).
[2] Carmona, Maria and Kathryn Stewart. (1996). "A Review of Alternative Activities and Alternative Programs in Youth-Oriented Prevention" *CSAP Technical Report No. 13.* Washington, DC: Center for Substance Abuse Prevention/ Substance Abuse and Mental Health Administration/ Department of Health and Human Services; Tierney, Joseph P., Jean Baldwin Grossman, and Nancy L. Resch. (1995 November). *Making a Difference: An Impact Study of Big Brothers/Big Sisters.* P. 49. Philadelphia, PA: Public/Private Ventures; N,. Zill, C. Nord, & L. Loomis, "Adolescent Time Use, Risky Behavior, And Outcomes 52 (1995)."
[3] National Research Council, "Informing America's Policy on Illegal Drugs, 2001", page 203.
[4] Nancy Trejos and Alan Goldenbach, "Schools Uneasy on Random Drug Tests Area Students, Parents Cite Privacy Concerns After High Court Ruling; Others Point to Costs", *Washington Post*, June 28, 2002, B-1.

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the weekly Standard

Blair Makes the Case

Faced with mounting pressure from within his own Labour party, as well as from other European leaders, British prime minister Tony Blair last week courageously and forcefully made the case for regime change in Iraq. Here are excerpts from Blair's remarks during his 90-minute press conference on September 3.

On the issue of regime change in Iraq

We, at every level of government, have been and remain in close dialogue with the United States of America about this issue, and where we are in absolute agreement is that Iraq poses a real and a unique threat to the security of the region and the rest of the world; that Saddam Hussein is continuing in his efforts to develop weapons of mass destruction, that means a biological, chemical, nuclear weapons capability; that he is in breach of United Nations resolutions; and that confronted with this reality we have to face up to it and to deal with it. How we deal with it, as I have said to you on many occasions, is under discussion, but that we have to do it is not in doubt. . . .

The key objective for us is to deal with the threat. What is the threat? The threat is an Iraq that carries on building up chemical, biological, nuclear weapons capability. And some of the talk about this in the past few weeks, I have to say, has astonished me. Let's just be clear about the nature of the regime that we are dealing with. You would think from some of the discussion that we were dealing with some benign liberal democracy out in Iraq.

We are dealing with a regime that routinely tortures and executes its political opponents, that probably was responsible for up to 100,000 Kurdish people dying in a brutal campaign in order to enforce Iraqi rule. We are talking about a regime that was responsible for a million people dying in the Iran-Iraq war, the annexation of Kuwait, and that we know . . . was trying to develop these appalling weapons and indeed actually used these weapons against their own people. Now the issue is making sure it is not a threat and either the regime starts to function in an entirely different way—and there hasn't been much sign of that—or the regime has to change. That is the choice, very simply.

The important thing to realize is that there is no doubt that at some point the Iraqi regime were trying to develop nuclear weapons capability—that is why the actual nuclear weapons inspectors went in there and shut down parts of their program. And I believe that there is evidence that they will acquire nuclear weapons capability if they possibly can.

On the question of "blind loyalty" to America

I would never support anything I thought was wrong out of some blind loyalty to the U.S. But I want to say this about our relationship with the United States. Again some of what I read . . . a lot of it is just straightforward anti-Americanism. The reason why I supported the United States of America after 11 September was because it was the right thing to do. International terrorism executed its worst atrocity on the streets of America, but that was an attack on the whole of the free and civilized world. And America should not have to face these problems alone; the whole of the international community has a responsibility to deal with it. And here we have a situation again—you would think with the debate going on in the past few weeks, it was somehow us who were in breach of the United Nations resolutions and Saddam who was wanting compliance.

For a long period of time we have done our best to contain that threat, though it is increasingly difficult to do it without inspectors being back in there with a proper regime on the ground that alters the way the regime behaves. The Americans in raising this issue are not wrong, they are right. And the reason why our place is beside them in addressing this issue is not because of some misplaced allegiance or because of blind loyalty, it is because it is the right thing to do. . . . We posed the question—was 11 September a threat to British national security or not? My answer to that is yes, it wasn't just a threat to America, they could perfectly easily have done it in London, or Berlin, or Paris, or anywhere. And therefore it is right that we respond to it together, and when people attack America and say why do they act unilaterally and all the rest of it, I actually haven't found on these issues of

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security they do that at all. . . . America shouldn't be left to face these issues alone; the rest of the world has a responsibility, not just America, to deal with this. And if Britain and if Europe want to be taken seriously as people facing up to these issues too, then our place is facing them with America—in partnership, but with America.

On the Iraqi people

One of the things I have found most bizarre about the last few weeks is the sight of very decent, liberal-minded people lining up and saying effectively that we shouldn't do anything about the regime of Saddam Hussein. This is a regime that suppresses its people in the most appalling and brutal way, that has been responsible for thousands of them dying. . . . I have absolutely no doubt at all that the vast majority of Iraqi people would love to get rid of Saddam Hussein, because what I have found in all these situations is that most people want the same things whatever part of the world they are in.

And I also hope, incidentally, in part of the debate that develops, it would be good to hear from some of the people who have lived in Iraq under Saddam Hussein. There are plenty of them, there are scores, thousands actually, of refugees flooding across Europe from the Iraqi regime. Go and ask a few of them what it is like living under a regime where you are not allowed to say anything against the government, where people are routinely tortured and murdered and executed, where if you are from certain tribes or certain people who might be opposed to the regime you are subject to a brutal form of execution. . . .

The fact that this is an appalling, brutal, dictatorial, vicious regime doesn't mean to say that you have to remove it. But . . . I find it very odd that people can get into the situation of not understanding that the people who would be most delighted if Saddam Hussein went would be the Iraqi people.

On the complacency of other European leaders

I think it is in part because people fear that some action will be taken of a preemptory nature, without any proper discussion and without considering the consequences. That is what people fear. [There is also what] I described as anti-Americanism earlier; I think there is a lot of that around, and I think it is wrong, misguided, and dangerous. I also think that some of the criticism of George Bush is just a parody of the George Bush that I know and work with. The person that I know and work with operates on these security issues in a calm and sensible and measured way, and the best proof of that is after 11 September. He waited weeks in order to make sure that the action that would be taken was right. He built up international support; he was firm and determined to deal with the issue but dealt with it in the right way. . . .

I just want to say this. I want to say it gently but I want to say it firmly: There is a tendency for the world to say to America, "the big problems of the world are yours, you go and sort them out," and then to worry when America wants to sort them out. And I think it is better that we confront these issues together as partners of America, and I think that is so for Britain, I think that is so for the rest of Europe, too. . . .

And as I say, the question that should be put right round the world at the moment is: Can you afford to allow Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi regime, knowing what we know of them, knowing how many hundreds of thousands of people they have killed, can you allow them to carry on developing biological, chemical, potentially nuclear capability? If the answer to that is no, then let's have a debate about the right way forward, but let's answer that question first. Because what I say to you is the policy of containment as it exists now can't continue indefinitely, it simply can't.

—Tony Blair, for the Editors

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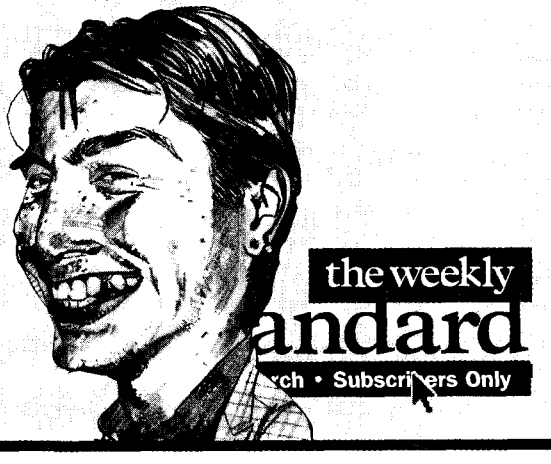

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Democrats for Regime Change

The president has some surprising allies.

BY STEPHEN F. HAYES

THE PRESIDENT mulls a strike against Iraq, which he calls an "outlaw nation" in league with an "unholy axis of terrorists, drug traffickers and organized international criminals." The talk among world leaders, however, focuses on diplomacy. France, Russia, China, and most Arab nations oppose military action. The Saudis balk at giving us overflight rights. U.N. secretary general Kofi Annan prepares a last-ditch attempt to convince Saddam Hussein to abide by the U.N. resolutions he agreed to at the end of the Gulf War.

Administration rhetoric could hardly be stronger. The president asks the nation to consider this question: What if Saddam Hussein

> fails to comply, and we fail to act, or we take some ambiguous third route which gives him yet more opportunities to develop his program of weapons of mass destruction and continue to press for the release of the sanctions and continue to ignore the solemn commitments that he made? Well, he will conclude that the international community has lost its will. He will then conclude that he can go right on and do more to rebuild an arsenal of devastating destruction.

The president's warnings are firm. "If we fail to respond today, Saddam and all those who would follow in his footsteps will be emboldened tomorrow." The stakes, he says, could not be higher. "Some day, some way, I guarantee you, he'll use the arsenal."

These are the words not of President George W. Bush in September 2002 but of President Bill Clinton on February 18, 1998. Clinton was speaking at the Pentagon, after the Joint Chiefs and other top national security advisers had briefed him on U.S. military readiness. The televised speech followed a month-long build-up of U.S. troops and equipment in the Persian Gulf. And it won applause from leading Democrats on Capitol Hill.

But just five days later, Kofi Annan struck yet another "deal" with the Iraqi dictator—which once more gave U.N. inspectors permission to inspect—and Saddam won again.

Of course, much has changed since President Clinton gave that speech. The situation has gotten worse. Ten months after Saddam accepted Annan's offer, he kicked U.N. weapons inspectors out of Iraq for good. We complained. Then we bombed a little. Then we stopped bombing. Later, we stepped up our enforcement of the no-fly zones. A year after the inspectors were banished, the U.N. created a new, toothless inspection regime. The new inspectors inspected nothing. If Saddam Hussein was a major threat in February 1998, when President Clinton prepared this country for war and U.N. inspectors were still inside Iraq, it stands to reason that in the absence of those inspectors monitoring his weapons build-up, Saddam is an even greater threat today.

But not, apparently, if you're Tom Daschle. The Senate majority leader and his fellow congressional Democrats have spent months criticizing the Bush administration for its failure to make the "public case" for military intervention in Iraq. Now that the Bush administration has begun to do

Stephen F. Hayes is a staff writer at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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so, many of these same Democrats are rushing to erect additional obstacles.

"What has changed in recent months or years" to justify confronting Saddam? Daschle asked last Wednesday after meeting with President Bush. Dick Gephardt wants to know what a democratic Iraq would look like. Dianne Feinstein wants the Israeli-Palestinian conflict settled first. Bob Graham says the administration hasn't presented anything new. John Kerry complains about, well, everything.

Matters looked different in 1998, when Democrats were working with a president of their own party. Daschle not only supported military action against Iraq, he campaigned vigorously for a congressional resolution to formalize his support. Other current critics of President Bush—including Kerry, Graham, Patrick Leahy, Christopher Dodd, and Republican Chuck Hagel—co-sponsored the broad 1998 resolution: Congress "urges the president to *take all necessary and appropriate actions* to respond to the threat posed by Iraq's refusal to end its weapons of mass destruction programs." (Emphasis added.)

Daschle said the 1998 resolution would "send as clear a message as possible that we are going to force, one way or another, diplomatically or militarily, Iraq to comply with international law." And he vigorously defended President Clinton's inclination to use military force in Iraq.

Summing up the Clinton administration's argument, Daschle said, "'Look, we have exhausted virtually our diplomatic effort to get the Iraqis to comply with their own agreements and with international law. Given that, what other option is there but to force them to do so?' That's what they're saying. This is the key question. And the answer is we don't have another option. We have got to force them to comply, and we are doing so militarily."

John Kerry was equally hawkish: "If there is not unfettered, unrestricted, unlimited access per the U.N. resolution for inspections, and UNSCOM cannot in our judgment appropriately perform its functions, then we obviously reserve the rights to press that case internationally and to do what we need to do as a nation in order to be able to enforce those rights," Kerry said back on February 23, 1998. "Saddam Hussein has already used these weapons and has made it clear that he has the intent to continue to try, by virtue of his duplicity and secrecy, to continue to do so. That is a threat to the stability of the Middle East. It is a threat with respect to the potential of terrorist activities on a global basis. It is a threat even to regions near but not exactly in the Middle East."

Daschle: "Look, we have exhausted . . . our diplomatic effort to get the Iraqis to comply with their own agreements and with international law. Given that, what other option is there but to force them to do so? . . . The answer is we don't have another option. We have got to force them to comply, and we are doing so militarily."

Considering the views these Democrats expressed four years ago, why the current reluctance to support President Bush?

Who knows? But if the president continues to run into stronger-than-expected resistance from Democrats on Capitol Hill, he can always just recycle the arguments so many Democrats accepted in 1998:

"Just consider the facts," Bill Clinton urged.

> Iraq repeatedly made false declarations about the weapons that it had left in its possession after the Gulf War. When UNSCOM would then uncover evidence that gave the lie to those declarations, Iraq would simply amend the reports. For example, Iraq revised its nuclear declarations four times within just 14 months and it has submitted six different biological warfare declarations, each of which has been rejected by UNSCOM. In 1995, Hussein Kamal, Saddam's son-in-law, and chief organizer of Iraq's weapons-of-mass-destruction program, defected to Jordan. He revealed that Iraq was continuing to conceal weapons and missiles and the capacity to build many more. Then and only then did Iraq admit to developing numbers of weapons in significant quantities and weapon stocks. Previously, it had vehemently denied the very thing it just simply admitted once Saddam Hussein's son-in-law defected to Jordan and told the truth.

Clinton was on a roll:

> Now listen to this: What did it admit? It admitted, among other things, an offensive biological warfare capability—notably 5,000 gallons of botulinum, which causes botulism; 2,000 gallons of anthrax; 25 biological-filled Scud warheads; and 157 aerial bombs. And might I say, UNSCOM inspectors believe that Iraq has actually greatly understated its production.
> Next, throughout this entire process, Iraqi agents have undermined and undercut UNSCOM. They've harassed the inspectors, lied to them, disabled monitoring cameras, literally spirited evidence out of the back doors of suspect facilities as inspectors walked through the front door. And our people were there observing it and had the pictures to prove it.

More Clinton: "We have to defend our future from these predators of the 21st century," he argued. "They will be all the more lethal if we allow them to build arsenals of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them. We simply cannot allow that to happen. There is no more clear example of this threat than Saddam Hussein."

What more needs to be said? ♦

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A Year of Firsts and Lasts

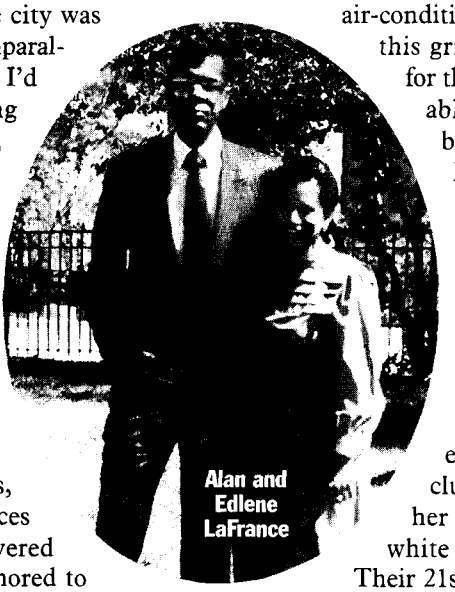
Edlene LaFrance remembers her husband, murdered by Mohamed Atta. BY MATT LABASH

Bronx, NY

I MET EDLENE LAFRANCE on the worst day of her life. Or maybe it was the second worst, or the fifth, there are so many to choose from now. Two days after the Twin Towers fell, her 43-year-old husband, Alan, lay buried at the bottom of one of them. Though the city was awash in acts of unparalleled selflessness, I'd spent that morning thinking selfishly, walking the ash-caked streets of lower Manhattan, trolling for battle-scarred humanity to fill my notebooks before deadline.

On a bum tip, I rushed to the Chelsea Piers, where ambulances full of recovered wounded were rumored to be arriving. When I got there, a bystander scoffed at my naiveté. "There *aren't* any more wounded," he said, letting the thought finish itself. Another reporter suggested the action had moved cross-town to the National Guard Armory on Lexington, and indeed it had. The street outside the building looked like a third-world bazaar. Except instead of merchants peddling trinkets, family members were holding "Missing" posters, begging for whereabouts and clues, as if their loved ones had gone down to the corner for a pack of cigarettes, then had forgotten the way home.

The media were supposedly barred, but I slipped inside the building. In all the chaos, it was about as difficult as crashing Penn Station. Hundreds of family members sat in rows, their bodies racked with tension and slicked with sweat in the unair-conditioned hall. Amidst this grimness, I scouted for the most approachable faces, which belonged to Edlene, her son Jody, and his wife, Camille.



Alan and Edlene LaFrance

I asked if I could follow their family through this process, and they graciously assented. Edlene clutched a photo of her husband in his white wedding tuxedo. Their 21st anniversary was in two weeks, and on the morning of September 11, for some reason, she'd come close to giving him his biggest present early—a new wedding ring.

We made polite chat over grief counselors' incessant offerings of sandwiches and Sprite. Edlene quipped that she could use some tranquilizers instead. She answered all my questions dutifully, but her eyes kept drifting to the archway at the front of the room. It was there, down a staircase, that 20 people at a time were being taken to scour two lists—the first indicating that their loved one had turned up hospitalized, the second that they'd turned up dead.

When it was the LaFrance family's turn, we went downstairs. A Red Cross volunteer offered to look for Alan's name. Edlene, a portrait of poise a few minutes earlier, simply laid her head down on a table while her son sat beside her, stroking her hair. Alan didn't turn up on the deceased list, but he wasn't on the hospitalized list either. A deductive silence enveloped us—the sound of someone's life coming undone.

A year later, as journalists and grief groupies again jostle for a piece of 9/11, it's tempting to sit back and chortle at excesses and opportunism. God knows the last year has seen enough of them: American Paper Optics issuing "Images of 9-11 in 3-D," the commemorative cigarette lighter with a flame flickering right over a picture of a burning World Trade Center, the "9/11: 24/7" mock-tribute album from drag-queen Tina C. featuring songs like "Stranger on the Stairwell" and "Kleenex to the World."

Still, as we congratulate ourselves on how life goes on in all its wretched excess, there are thousands like Edlene. Her life actually has changed, and will remain that way beyond any news cycle.

I catch up with her at an apartment building that sits next to a noisy highway in the Bronx. A landlord's letter posted in the lobby cautions residents not to let their pets urinate in the stairwell. She welcomes me at the door, and says that she has lost some weight and some hair since we last spoke, but she is just as I remembered: diminutive and dignified, her warm voice accented with a steel that suggests she is being brave by necessity, if not by nature. Her rent is $709 per month, and it seems a bit steep for the two rooms she inhabits. They're the same rooms she lived in with Alan. And in a way, that $709 is what got him killed.

An audio/visual technician, Alan freelanced all over the city—primarily doing conferences at a New York public library and at the Windows on the World restaurant on the 106th floor of the World Trade Center. Edlene could

Matt Labash is senior writer at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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always tell to which job her husband was headed by what he was wearing. If he was off to the library, he'd wear casual clothes. If it was the World Trade Center, he'd put on a black suit. The library gig was more lucrative, but his employer took too long to pay (six to eight weeks).

Though usually Alan just worked nights at the World Trade Center, he sometimes needed money to make rent. So the morning of September 11, he went there to set up a breakfast conference. Edlene can't remember her last words to her husband, but for days after the towers went down, she tricked herself into recalling that he hadn't been wearing his black suit.

From the testimonials of his friends and relatives, it is clear Alan was the kind of guy you'd want to be around. He liked his breakfasts big and greasy at a nearby diner, and he loved to play drums. At his Jehovah's Witness congregation's cookouts, he always assumed the role of grillmaster, perhaps because even at 6′4″, he was such a suspect basketball player that friends mockingly called him "Jump Shot." He took his grandmother shopping almost weekly. He liked to work on cars, but not for money. Often, Edlene would gaze out the window at busy Bruckner Boulevard and see a stranded motorist. She'd shoot her husband a help-those-poor-people look. He'd grumble a little, then grab his tools and ride to the rescue.

Now, the first face Edlene sees in the morning is Mohamed Atta's. She keeps a *New York Post* cover photo of the man who killed her husband on the floor next to her bed. Every morning when she wakes up, she steps on his face. It is a small, desperate gesture, but it's the only revenge she'll ever get. When asked why she'd keep a picture of this murderer in her bedroom (she never calls him a "terrorist" or "hijacker," always a "murderer"), she says, "A lot of times when I don't think it's real, I just turn over and there's his face. Then I know it's real."

It wouldn't seem she'd need any more reminders. Her husband, who had no life insurance, handled the finances, and within the first few weeks after he died—her mind scrambled and her heart literally palpitating—she couldn't even locate her checkbook. Unable to keep track of the bills, she had to get an extension after an eviction notice. Though some charity has found her (Black America Web Relief ended up footing her rent through August), most of the $30,000 or so she's received from victim's assistance funds has gone to offset her son Jody's expenses, since he frequently has to fly back with his family from Chattanooga, Tenn., to help his mom navigate mounds of paperwork and other disasters.

A typical one occurred when Alan's old Volvo had to be retrieved from an impound lot where it was towed from the train station after sitting there for weeks (Alan had the only key). Likewise, her telephone was nearly cut off, but with her nursing job in a "clinic in a bad neighborhood," she has managed to keep it paid up, along with Alan's cellphone account. She doesn't have the cellphone—Alan had it with him when he died—but by keeping the account open, she can still call his messages to hear his voice. "They never found remains," she explains. "It's all we have left of him."

Edlene LaFrance is not a whiner, though she could be forgiven if she were one. She hasn't told her overburdened son that her doctors are worried she has breast cancer. Having switched nursing jobs earlier this year, she has told no one at work besides her boss that she lost her husband on 9/11. Even her own mother, who is senile and who Edlene doesn't wish to traumatize, has no idea her daughter is now a widow. "When she asks where Alan is," Edlene says, "I tell her he's at work."

I ask her if she blames God for any of this. "Why would I?" she asks, out of conviction or convenience or both, "He didn't do it." She says she's been hitting the Scriptures pretty hard lately—not Job, as you might expect, but all the widows'n'orphans passages. There are a lot more of them than she had noticed before, and she says they present a compelling body of evidence that God won't let her fall through the cracks. So far, she says, He hasn't.

The thing that's changed the most for her is time. She no longer measures it in weeks and months, but in firsts and lasts—the last time she did something with Alan, the first time she must do it without him. She doesn't cry much anymore, but the day before my visit, a light bulb burned out in her hallway. She ended up in a heap on the kitchen floor for 20 minutes. It was a 1,000-hour bulb that Alan had last changed. She has not replaced it.

There are long lists of firsts she is avoiding. She will not go on vacation, and chooses not to go to the movies, since that was Alan's favorite pastime. When she goes to their favorite diner for breakfast, she sits at the counter, since she and Alan used to sit at a booth. She knows she must get over this, and it will be easier to, she reasons, after September 11. Right now, she dreads that date the most. Though she'll be surrounded by extended family, all she really wants to do, she says, "is take some sleeping pills and wake up on September 12th."

After hours of conversation, we set off for the train station on foot, strolling through her neighborhood in a late summer half-light. Another 30 minutes, she says, and she wouldn't be out on these streets. At first, I think she means because they're crime-ridden. But no. "That was the time me and Alan always walked together," she explains. As she says this, I nod understandingly. But I can't understand. Not really. We have all grown rather possessive of September 11, taking it out, reexamining it when it suits us, making it mean what we want it to mean. Edlene doesn't have that luxury. I want to make it easier for her, but that can't be done, so I hold my tongue. She thanks me for listening, and I nod some more, as she puts me on a train that will take me back to my wife and son. ♦

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The Uncandidate

South Carolina's Mark Sanford succeeds by breaking all the rules. BY FRED BARNES

Columbia, South Carolina

THE PECULIARITIES of Republican Mark Sanford's bid for governor of South Carolina are piling up. Sanford has no statewide campaign organization or ancillary groups like Veterans for Sanford. His wife Jenny is his campaign manager. When the state Republican chairman wanted to speak to him without his wife on the line, Sanford hung up. He doesn't prepare for televised debates (and does poorly). Hit this summer with a two-month barrage of attack ads by Gov. Jim Hodges, his Democratic opponent, Sanford declined to rebut the charges, thus violating a cardinal rule of electoral politics. His appearances sometimes consist of a slide show (he travels with a slide projector). He once jotted down the text of a TV ad minutes before filming it. His speeches are seldom scripted. He rarely wears a tie. He backed John McCain in the 2000 presidential primary in what turned out to be a strong George W. Bush state. He now concedes the McCain endorsement was a "mistake."

There's an upside to all this. Voters are captivated by Sanford's unorthodox style. With no previous political experience, no following among Republicans, and zero name ID, he won a U.S. House seat in the coastal Charleston area in 1994. Sanford faced no opponent in his last two races, but nonetheless honored his promise to serve only three terms and retired in 2000. In the runoff last June for the GOP nomination for governor, he overwhelmed Lt. Gov. Bob Peeler, who was backed by most of the Bush forces in the state. Now he has an even or better chance of ousting Hodges. If he does, it's likely to be one of the few Republican pickups of a governorship this year. And it would give the GOP full control of South Carolina—the governorship along with both houses of the legislature.

Sanford, 42, is far and away the most interesting conservative running anywhere this year. His message is mildly radical: slow the growth of government, overhaul the bureaucracy, attract investment, and create jobs. He also favors a school voucher program similar to one enacted in Florida by Gov. Jeb Bush. But that's not the radical part of Sanford's agenda. This is: He wants to eliminate the state income tax (top rate 7 percent). No state has ever repealed its income tax (several states don't have one). Sanford would not do it abruptly, but over 18 years. Still, he alone in the seven-candidate Republican field advocated it. All Hodges says is that he won't raise taxes.

In his slide show, Sanford presents a sophisticated analysis of how South Carolina has fallen behind in personal income—or what he calls a "wealth gap" of $5,800 a year between what people make, on average, nationally and what they earn in South Carolina. Unless the gap is closed, he says, young people will continue to migrate to other states. While income has lagged, Sanford says, the state government has metastasized,

Mark Sanford

Illustration by Earl Keleny

Fred Barnes is executive editor of THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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growing more rapidly than the federal government or nearby state governments. South Carolina has nearly twice as many state employees per capita as Florida. To lure investment and white collar jobs, Sanford would trim state government and reduce the tax (the top tax rate applies to incomes as low as $11,701) that supports it. Meanwhile, education spending has doubled in the past 25 years, but SAT scores in South Carolina remain stuck at 49th or 50th among the states. Sanford says this means money isn't getting to teachers and classrooms.

Education, however, is Hodges's issue, not Sanford's. It provides "a stronger playing field for Democrats than Republicans, even on your best day," Sanford says. This is especially true in his case. For Sanford, education reform is but one part of his plan for restructuring state government. For Hodges, it's his most powerful issue and one on which he has credibility. As House minority leader in the state legislature in 1995, Hodges pushed for extending kindergarten from a half to a full day. Republicans sneered that this was glorified day care, but Hodges's proposal was wildly popular and he forced Republicans to back down. His bill passed.

Now he is trying to bludgeon Sanford on the issue. Since Sanford won the GOP runoff on June 22, Hodges has aired an estimated $2 million worth of negative ads—many on education—that declare Sanford "wrong for South Carolina." Sanford's limp response prompted Brad Warthen, the editorial page editor of South Carolina's most important newspaper, *The State* in Columbia, to urge Sanford to stop talking about parental choice and offer up a comprehensive plan for improving public schools. Sanford may do that, but what he won't do is broadcast rebuttal ads on TV.

The rule of thumb in politics is that a charge left unchallenged has a good chance of being believed by voters. Sanford doesn't think so. His first TV spot of the general election campaign was a response, but hardly a point-by-point rebuttal. Referring to Hodges's ads and speaking directly to the camera, he said: "I trust you will see those attacks for what they are. In the last four years, our economy has gotten worse and our schools still rank at the bottom. We don't have to settle for that . . . help us bring a different approach to politics in Columbia." The ad ends with a slogan: "Mark Sanford, a leader, not a politician."

Richard Quinn, a consultant for a Sanford opponent in the primary, says Sanford's style and persona may make him immune to negative ads. In the runoff, Lt. Gov. Peeler ran a TV spot showing a Sanford lookalike stripping a soldier of his rifle, uniform, and wallet. The point was to portray Sanford as anti-military. The ad backfired. Earlier, Quinn had produced anti-Sanford ads for his candidate, Attorney General Charlie Condon. "We pounded him," says Quinn. The result was zilch.

"Mark is the most unorthodox politician I've ever bumped into," Quinn says. "He's unscripted. He likes to wing it. He doesn't really have a consultant. There's a real freshness about him. He campaigns on the notion that he's a departure from politics as usual. He personifies that."

One source of his appeal is term limits. In 1994, his strongest opponents balked at self-imposed term limits. Sanford settled on three terms. "Six years seemed like an eternity," he told me. By rejecting a career in Congress, he acquired what he calls "the rarest of all political commodities in Washington . . . independence." In a short book he wrote in his final year in Washington, Sanford said, "If self-limits do nothing else, they afford a legislator the freedom to stand up for what he believes." In his case, it meant championing sweeping Social Security reform, voting against highway spending, and rebelling against Republican leaders Newt Gingrich and Dick Armey. By quitting after three terms, Sanford gained a reputation for keeping his word, a valuable asset for a politician.

Back in Charleston in early 2001, Sanford was weighing job offers and thinking about running for Democratic senator Fritz Hollings's seat in 2004 when he was visited by a Republican businessman from Spartanburg, John Rainey. Rainey knew Sanford only by reputation, but he felt Sanford was the only political figure who could disrupt the inertia in Columbia. "This is a person who, if you're lucky, comes along once in a political lifetime," Rainey says. He cited a passage in the New Testament, Luke 12: "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required." Sanford was intrigued. He consulted two former governors, Democrat Bob Kerrey of Nebraska and Republican senator George Allen of Virginia, who assured him governor was the office with the most leverage. After working up his ambitious economic and restructuring plan, Sanford announced.

Outside Charleston, Sanford had no base of support. There's no Sanford gang of allies in the legislature or GOP hierarchy. The Christian right, strong in the Greenville and Spartanburg area upstate, was leery of him. So were many Republicans who'd backed Bush over McCain in 2000, a contest whose traumatic effect on the GOP still lingers. But the McCain link didn't hurt Sanford, except to underscore his image as a different sort of politician. "I'm inherently distrustful of the inside of any political system," he says. Five weeks after the runoff, Bush showed up for a Sanford fund-raiser that had been scheduled before the election, when Peeler, the Bush candidate, had been expected to win. "When you find a good one, you've got to help him, and you've found a good one in Mark Sanford," the president said.

Besides his personal attractiveness, Sanford has a geographical advantage against Hodges. The governor, wrote Lee Bandy of *The State*, "is boxed in from the north and south. The vote-rich Upstate is solid Republican territory. . . . The coast and Lowcountry are home to Sanford." That leaves the middle of the state. All Sanford has to do is split the vote there and he wins. Not a bad spot to be in for a candidate who likes to wing it. ♦

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Life, Liberty, and a Mudhole to Lie In

Constitutions are for people, not pigs.

BY WESLEY J. SMITH

Itar-Tass Photos

SOMETHING DISTURBING is happening in the Florida elections this fall. No, not the chance that Janet Reno will be the Democratic candidate for governor. A state initiative has qualified for the ballot letting voters decide whether to grant constitutional rights to pregnant pigs.

On the surface, the issue is one of animal husbandry. In the interest of industrial efficiency, and to prevent mother pigs from accidentally rolling on and crushing their offspring, many pig farmers confine pregnant sows in "farrowing crates" during the final stage of pregnancy and for a time after birth.

Supporters of the practice say that the crates, which are seven feet long and two feet wide, ensure the safety and health of the sow and her piglets. A preliminary report of a study by the Iowa State University comparing three different systems for housing gestating sows seems to verify this claim, finding that the crate system produces the "highest farrowing [birth] rate."

But animal rights activists claim that immobilizing the sows in crates causes a "wide range of physical and psychological problems" for the pigs. They want to see this breeding technique banned. Thus, taking advantage of Florida's easy qualification process for voter initiatives, animal rightists have qualified a proposed state constitutional amendment that, if passed, would make it not just illegal but *unconstitutional* to confine a pregnant pig "in a cage, crate, or other enclosure, or tether a pregnant pig on a farm so that the pig is prevented from turning around freely."

This is a perfectly legitimate subject for public debate, of course, *but not in a constitutional context*. The constitution of the state of Florida was ordained and established by the people to "secure the benefits" of "Constitutional Liberty," "perfect our government, insure domestic tranquility, maintain public order, and guarantee equal civil and political rights." In other words, the Florida constitution—like the U.S. Constitution and other state constitutions—is concerned with the rights and responsibilities of people. It is not for pigs.

This not just an abstract argument, to be hashed out over a morning latte. Through constitutions we establish our form of government and mutually guarantee that none of us will be denied certain fundamental rights. We do so not because we are mammals, but because we are men and women seeking to maintain and protect *human* liberty and *human* dignity. Granting animals constitutional rights would cheapen these charters. Indeed, it would undermine constitutions as exclusively establishing and protecting human rights.

This is no doubt the appeal to animal rights activists of the Florida initiative. After all, pig farming is a very small industry in Florida, so small in fact, that only about 300-400 pregnant pigs are housed in farrowing crates at any given time in the entire state. So why invest the nearly *$1 million* supporters of the initiative claim they will spend in the coming campaign? That's a lot of money to potentially help just a few hundred pigs. But if the goal is to blur the moral distinction between human and animal life—well, that, for animal rightists, is worth much more than $1 million.

If we are to avoid "speciesism," their thinking goes, we must give up our belief that life has ultimate value simply because it is human. This objective standard, in their thinking, being steeped in religion or outmoded notions of natural law, must be replaced by a "rational" approach that accords value to each individual—animal or human—based primarily on the level of the individual's perceived level of consciousness or the ability to feel pain.

One expression of this view is the

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bioethical theory of "personhood," according to which rights are based on whether one's "quality of life" is sufficient to qualify for membership in the "moral community" made up of sentient, self-aware "persons." Since value is based on gray matter and not genome, non-sentient humans—including newborn infants, Alzheimer's patients, the severely retarded, and the comatose, among others—would be excluded from this community. At the same time, some "nonhuman animals" would be included in the moral community, including dogs, pigs, elephants, dolphins, whales—perhaps all mammals.

The consequences of such a radical shift in core societal beliefs would be profound. As animal rights author and lawyer Steven M. Wise recently told the *Village Voice*, establishing legal personhood for animals would grant them "the [same] fundamental rights that we humans have." This would mean, according to Wise, that "If you wanted to do something to violate the animals' rights, at the very least they should have a guardian appointed to represent their interests, the way a human child or any severely impaired human would."

Of course, it is a long way from granting limited constitutional rights to pregnant pigs to expanding coverage of the Bill of Rights to all animals. But it would definitely be a first step on the proverbial thousand-mile journey. And it would not be unprecedented in the world. Little noted in the American media, Germany recently added the words "and animals" to a clause in its constitution that obliges the state to respect and protect the dignity of humans. Where that will lead is anybody's guess.

The "Animal Cruelty Amendment: Limiting Cruel and Inhumane Confinement of Pigs During Pregnancy" promotes a radical agenda behind the seemingly benign façade of animal welfare. Floridians should not be fooled. Farrowing crates may or may not be inhumane. But by voting "no," they can send the important message that constitutions are for humans, not pigs. ♦

The 9/11 Curriculum Wars

What should schools be teaching about the war on terror? BY BETH HENARY

LAST MONTH, as schools were preparing to open their doors, a heated debate erupted in the media over how students should observe the anniversary of September 11. According to the *Washington Times*, a lesson plan on the National Education Association's website was urging teachers to use the occasion to "discuss historical instances of American intolerance" so as to avoid "repeating terrible mistakes" like the internment of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor. Conservatives howled at this "blame America" approach. Though the lesson plan in question was only one of about a hundred posted on the site, columnists across the country seized on the incident to denounce the NEA and opine on properly patriotic ways of marking Year One.

In the *Los Angeles Times*, for example, Abraham Cooper and Harold Brackman of the Simon Wiesenthal Center offered six suggestions for what to teach on September 11. One was an explicit response to the NEA plan, which Cooper and Brackman said promoted "historical amnesia." "Don't be afraid of the truth about the terrorist war against America," they wrote. "Politically correct euphemisms and evasions shouldn't hide the fingerprints of those responsible."

In the end, the media frenzy appears to have had little effect on the policies adopted by schools. Many chose to give teachers free rein to address the issue as they saw fit. For inspiration, they could look to dozens of new books about the war on terrorism, as well as lesson plans assembled by groups eager to capitalize on a "teachable moment." The Families and Work Institute in New York posted a series of lesson plans entitled "9/11 As History." The Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, an education-reform advocacy group, released "September 11: What Our Children Need to Know," a collection of contributions from such personalities as Lynne Cheney, William J. Bennett, and Richard Rodriguez.

But despite the deluge of ready-made materials, districts and teachers decided to rely mainly on their own resourcefulness to address their students' needs.

In the Washington area, where the reconstruction of the Pentagon is nearing completion, most districts called for some observance of the anniversary. Some, like the Baltimore County Public Schools in Maryland, took a centralized approach. In secondary schools a brief statement about the anniversary was to be read over the intercom, followed by a period of silence. Elementary school teachers were to read an age-appropriate statement to their classes. All social studies teachers were to "implement age-appropriate lessons using the events of September 11 to initiate a focus on themes such as democracy, patriotism, world cultures, government, and communities." The district recommended to parents and teachers websites including those of the NEA, the Families and Work Institute, and the Public Broadcasting Service.

Montgomery County, in the Maryland suburbs, took a different tack. Principals were notified that there would be no system-wide require-

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ment for teaching about September 11, though the district social studies office encouraged teachers who chose to discuss the anniversary to talk about facts, not feelings. Social studies curriculum director Martin M. Creel referred instructors to the Avalon Project at Yale, an online compilation of presidential and congressional documents with links to sources like the European Union's statement on September 11.

In nearby Fairfax County, Virginia, principals were urged to read a brief statement supplied by the district about the heroes and victims of September 11 before their daily moment of silence. A news release from the district encouraged principals to "maintain a regular instruction program throughout the rest of the day." One elementary school principal in McLean sent an e-mail advising that there would be no memorials, but that teachers should deal with the subject if it came up. One member of his staff said teachers had "enough on their minds with the beginning of school" and probably weren't preparing any special lesson plan.

But at least one Fairfax County high school opted for a patriotic display: Students and staff were asked to wear red, white, and blue, and the art department planned to make banners that would stretch from the school to a nearby highway. Some teachers also planned to address the anniversary in their classrooms. A literature and composition teacher said her advanced placement composition class would analyze one of President Bush's war speeches from 2001. "This is a great way for my students to look at the elements of logos, pathos, and ethos in persuasive speeches," she said. She welcomed the opportunity to discuss persuasion in politics and to bring current events into the classroom without compromising content.

Like most of those interviewed for this story, she said she was unaware of the NEA's recommendations for observing September 11. "Is that terrible?" she asked. "Maybe, but I think I know what my students need." ♦

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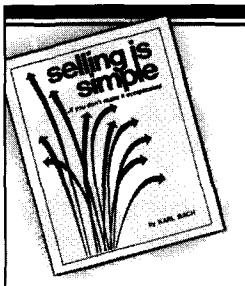

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Qatar Politics

Could this small Gulf state become America's most important Arab ally? BY S. ROB SOBHANI

Doha, Qatar

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION will get no help from most Arab nations in a war against Iraq. The Arab League not only opposes an attack, but last week lauded the Iraqis for opening talks with the United Nations about reviving arms inspections. The Saudis won't let American warplanes fly sorties against Iraq from the U.S. air base in Saudi Arabia. And Bahrain was pressured by Iran into public opposition to any military action against Iraq. But then there's Qatar, the small Persian Gulf state of 700,000 people that's quietly promoting democratic reform and ties to America.

Qatar is home to the largest prepositioning of U.S. military equipment in the world. At the moment, Qatar's al-Udeid Air Base is a launching center for American missions over Afghanistan aimed at routing remnants of Taliban and al Qaeda. Once a war to oust Saddam Hussein begins, it will become a home base for U.S. planes raiding Iraq. Americans also use two other bases in Qatar. In fact, some officials in Qatar have suggested that if the Saudis insist American troops leave Prince Sultan Air Base, they would be welcome in Qatar. For the record, Qatar's foreign minister said during an August visit to Washington that his country opposes an attack on Iraq. Privately Qatar is already helping in the run-up to military action.

Qatar is not entirely alone among Arab nations in its willingness to support a U.S.-led coalition against Iraq. Kuwait believes "the war against Iraq [in 1990-91] to have never ended," its foreign minister told the London *Telegraph* last week. And despite its joint statement with Iran, Bahrain will help. But Qatar is a special case because it is pursuing a primary aim of the Bush administration in the Middle East: democracy.

"America needs to put pressure on the Arab world to reform if it is to win the war against terrorism." Those are the words of a senior adviser to the ruler of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani. Since succeeding his father in a bloodless coup five years ago, the amir has started a gradual reformation of all aspects of Qatar's social, economic, and political life. The rationale of Sheikh Hamad's drive toward democracy is pragmatic. If Arab countries embrace pluralism and open legitimate and transparent outlets for political expression, this will expose the bankrupt ideology of the ayatollahs in Iran, the Wahhabis in Saudi Arabia, and Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein.

Sheikh Hamad has instituted a series of reforms unique in the Arab world. He has abolished the Ministry of Information and ended censorship. In Qatar, unlike Saudi Arabia, women are allowed to vote and run for political office. His wife, Sheikha al-Khalifa, plays a public role, championing environmental issues. Sheikh Hamad has also put a premium on secular education, a free media, and transparency in dealing with foreign investors.

For many years Qatar's education system was based solely on the Koran. Now students are encouraged to study abroad. "The Prophet Mohammed has a saying, 'Ask for education even if it is in China,'" says Hassan Ansari, a leading intellectual and adviser to Sheikh Hamad. "In this case we are asking the United States."

In America, Qatar is best known for its satellite TV station Al Jazeera, whose broadcasts have become famous since September 11. Both the United States and Israel have complained about biased and inflammatory reports on Al Jazeera, but in the Arab context it is a beacon of truth. "The goal of Sheikh Hamad in supporting the creation of Al Jazeera was to have a 'free press zone' in the Arab world," says his chief of staff, Sheikh Muhammed bin Fahed Al Thani. Adds Ibrahim Helal, the bright young editor in Al Jazeera's newsroom: "For the last 50 years Arab media has been held hostage to the lies and bankrupt ideology of Arab rulers."

Even Helal says Al Jazeera is biased roughly 30 percent of the time. But Al Jazeera shares at least one viewpoint with President Bush: the need for reform of Palestinian rule in the West Bank and Gaza. The joke in the Al Jazeera newsroom is: "What's the difference between Arafat and Sharon? Arafat and his cronies drive Mercedes-Benzes, but Sharon drives a Chevrolet." The problems of the Palestinians are a microcosm of the Arab world, and Al Jazeera sheds light on them: authoritarian rule, state-controlled media, lack of economic transparency. Compared with the broadcasts of the radically anti-Semitic and anti-American television stations in Saudi Arabia like Iqraa or the Hezbollah station Al Manaar, those of Al Jazeera are for the most part responsible.

At some point, Qatar may allow the United States to be less reliant on Saudi oil. Sheikh Hamad has given the green light to develop Qatar's vast natural gas reserves, the third largest in the world (and about six times the size of U.S. reserves). According to Sheikh Abdulrahman bin Saud Al Thani, Qatar has enough gas to heat every home in America for 100 years.

The United States has an enormous stake in the success of Qatar. In the short run, its aid in rebuilding Afghanistan and support for military action to depose Saddam Hussein are significant. But Qatar's nascent moves in the direction of democracy, with their potential for influencing the Arab world, could be as important in the long term. ♦

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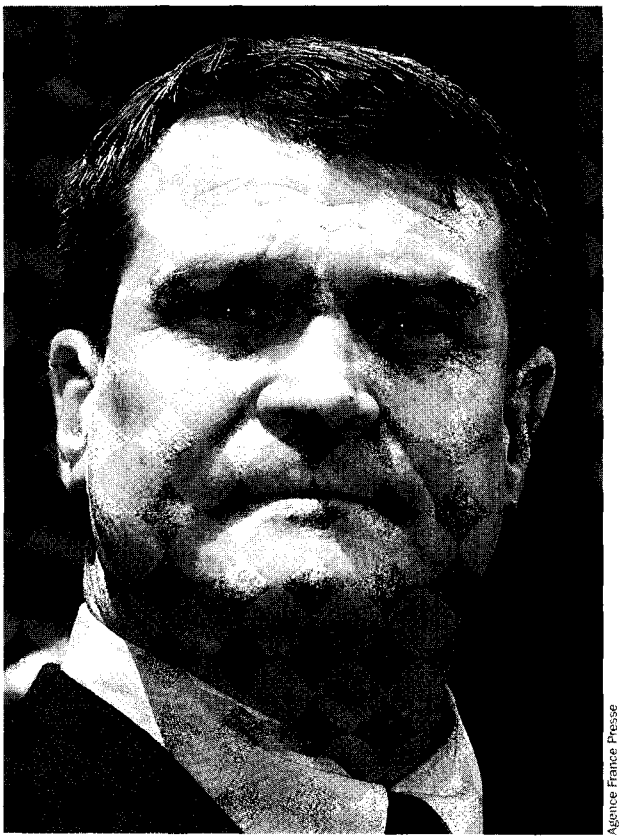
The Hunting of Steven J. Hatfill

Why are so many people eager to believe that this man is the anthrax killer?

By David Tell

1 **Who is Steven J. Hatfill?** Hatfill is a 48-year-old scientific researcher who specializes in emerging infectious diseases. Various details on his résumé—to say nothing of a televised FBI raid on his apartment—have inspired a mini-industry of speculation that he may somehow be implicated in last fall's deadly anthrax attacks. But as we shall see, much of that speculation pretends to be something more: certainty of his guilt, and certainty that in every nook and cranny of his life must be found some blot or scar or mark of the devil that proves his guilt. The evidence of his biography, that which is publicly available, cannot sustain such absolute conviction. But it is an unusual and interesting biography just the same.



Agence France Presse

Hatfill was born in St. Louis, attended high school in Mattoon, Illinois, and studied basic biology and chemistry at Southwestern College in Winfield, Kansas. After graduating from Southwestern in June 1975, Hatfill served what *Newsweek*, citing "a copy of his military records," calls "a three-year stint in the Army, stationed in the United States." The *Newark Star-Ledger*, also claiming to have reviewed his personnel records, says Hatfill remained on some form of reserve or National Guard duty until January 1981, but by all accounts his regular Army active duty ended in the spring of 1978, and a few months later he moved to Africa, where he would live and work for the next 16 years.

Hatfill spent the first six of those years in Harare, earning his medical degree from what is now the University of Zimbabwe. In June 1984, he relocated to South Africa for his clinical internship and residency—and for a decade's worth of additional study during which he was awarded three master's degrees (microbial genetics and recombinant DNA, medical biochemistry and radiation biology, and hematological pathology) and completed at least some of the work necessary for a doctorate in molecular cell biology. Hatfill finally left Africa in the summer of 1994 and spent a year doing clinical research at Oxford University before returning home to the States for good.

On a postgraduate training fellowship from the National Institutes of Health, Hatfill worked at NIH headquarters in Bethesda, Maryland, and other civilian federal laboratories until the fall of 1997. Then he took another two-year fellowship, this one from the National Research Council, to the nation's top biowarfare defense laboratory, the U.S. Army Medical

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Research Institute of Infectious Diseases (USAMRIID) at Fort Detrick in Maryland. There Hatfill investigated therapeutic responses to "filoviridae," the family of primate-borne tropical viruses, Ebola and Marburg specifically, that cause lethal hemorrhagic fever in humans. By the time Hatfill's Fort Detrick grant expired in September 1999, he had already undertaken related research at a private-sector laboratory in McLean, Virginia, Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC), which does federal biodefense work on contract.

SAIC fired him in March of this year shortly after a newspaper reporter phoned the company seeking a response to rumors that Hatfill, whose name had not yet dribbled into public view, was under FBI investigation in connection with last fall's anthrax murders. Eight months earlier, an unrelated CIA polygraph examination—which reportedly generated unresolved questions about Hatfill's account of his life in Africa—had led that agency to refuse him the "top-secret" security clearance necessary for certain SAIC projects. And, pending review of that refusal, Hatfill's basic-level "secret" clearance had been suspended, as well. The extent to which this security issue figured in SAIC's eventual decision to fire Hatfill remains unclear, however, and there are indications that SAIC may have been less than fully confident about the move; Hatfill's attorneys say the company later offered him a financial settlement, and the company itself has acknowledged having retained him, following his formal dismissal, as an outside consultant.

In any case, whatever the exact circumstances of his separation from SAIC, that incident alone had no immediately damaging effect on his career as a whole. Hatfill quickly found a new and important job as associate director of the National Center for Biomedical Research and Training at Louisiana State University. And it was to this new job in Baton Rouge that he was preparing a final move when, on August 1, the FBI—with whose earlier anthrax-case inquiries Hatfill had, by all accounts, cooperated fully—suddenly executed a court-issued criminal search warrant at his Frederick, Maryland, apartment. The raid was covered live on national television.

No less authoritative a spokesman than Attorney General John Ashcroft has since confirmed, also on national television, that Hatfill is a "person of interest" to the Bureau's anthrax investigation. Hatfill, for his part, at two public press conferences organized by his attorneys, has vehemently denied any involvement in or knowledge of the anthrax murders. Despite those denials, however, the past month's developments and attendant publicity appear to have overwhelmed him. "My life has been completely and utterly destroyed," he says. Most saliently: "I'm unemployed" and "my professional reputation is in tatters." Early last week, having been advised by the attorney general's Office for Domestic Preparedness not to use Hatfill on programs receiving federal law enforcement funding, Louisiana State University took steps to "terminate the employment of Steven J. Hatfill as associate director of the National Center for Biomedical Research and Training," which depends on the Justice Department for 97 percent of its annual budget. Just for good measure, LSU also fired the man who'd hired Hatfill to begin with. University officials deny that these personnel actions were taken in response to instructions from Washington to "cease and desist" with respect to Hatfill, but LSU chancellor Mark Emmert concedes the school's general desire to "fulfill its contractual obligations to funding agencies."

2 Why is Hatfill a "person of interest" to the FBI? That designation, which has no formal legal meaning or consequence, is not exactly unprecedented in federal law enforcement practice. But it is nevertheless extremely uncommon, and the Justice Department has so far declined to offer any official public explanation for its current application to Hatfill. Nor, apparently, has the department clarified the matter privately to Hatfill's attorneys, whose multiple letters of complaint have yet to win a substantive response. Even when speaking on background to reporters, Justice "sources" routinely defend the propriety of their approach to Hatfill by insisting that he has not received "any more attention than any other person of interest to the investigation." But no other such "person of interest" has ever been identified by name. And one particularly candid FBI official has conceded to the *Washington Post* that "we're obviously doing things related to [Hatfill] that we're not doing with others. He is obviously of more interest to us than others on the list at this point."

It's possible to fashion a reasonably educated guess about why that might be. Most basically, Hatfill—along with hundreds, if not thousands, of other people—fits the FBI's "behavioral analysis" suspect profile, announced as the anthrax investigation was just getting underway last November. (For an extensive and skeptical consideration of that profile, see "Remember Anthrax?" in THE WEEKLY STANDARD of April 29, 2002.) More precisely, for a window on particular evidence the FBI may believe makes Steven Hatfill uniquely interesting among American scientists with training and experience in agents of biological warfare, we now have at our disposal *Newsweek*'s exclusive report on the Bureau's August 1 apartment search.

The FBI had conducted an earlier, prearranged and

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consensual search of the place in late June and had apparently come up empty. But during the final week of July, *Newsweek* says, two things happened that made the Bureau think it ought to try again. First, agents exposed police bloodhounds to a set of "scent packs" which had been "lifted from anthrax-tainted letters mailed to Sens. Tom Daschle and Patrick Leahy . . . hoping some faint, telltale trace of the perpetrator's smell still remained months after the fact." The dogs were brought to a series of locations "frequented" by Hatfill, including a Denny's restaurant in Louisiana, and at each spot, according to "one law-enforcement source," the beasts "went crazy." Around the same time, surveillance teams posted outside Hatfill's apartment building noticed him chucking great lots of stuff into a backyard trash bin and became worried that he was attempting to destroy evidence. These two factors, "the dogs and the dumpster," the *Newsweek* story suggests, are what prompted the FBI to obtain permission for an involuntary, unannounced criminal search of Hatfill's property.

Inside the dumpster, agents found only innocuous personal belongings that Hatfill explained he was purging in anticipation of his move to Baton Rouge. Inside the apartment, on the hard drive of Hatfill's computer, agents found the draft of a never-published Tom Clancy-like thriller the scientist had once toyed with writing in his spare time. Initial, partial descriptions of the book—this bit of the story was broken, very excitedly, by a local television station in Washington, D.C.—made it out to involve a deadly biological attack on Congress with eerie and frightening parallels to the real-life events of last September and October. Subsequent accounts of Hatfill's novel, however, their accuracy confirmed to THE WEEKLY STANDARD by one man who has read the entire manuscript, suggest a plot centered around mad cow disease and bubonic plague, not anthrax, with no mention at all of pathogenic powders delivered by mail.

Still, there are the bloodhounds, one of whom is reported by *Newsweek* to have "excitedly bounded right up to Hatfill" on August 1, inspiring an FBI observer to exclaim, "Damn!" The dogs have since become a fixture of news features about the Hatfill case, invariably accorded the status of potentially incriminating physical evidence. Realistically, though, the "potential" here is limited at best, and many forensic experts seem inclined to think it nonexistent. For one thing, Scott Shane of the *Baltimore Sun* has phoned the managers of all 12 Denny's restaurants in the state of Louisiana, each of whom insists that no such bloodhound search as is recounted by *Newsweek* has ever been performed on his premises. Furthermore, Shane and the handful of other journalists who have troubled to consult technical specialists knowledgeable on the question all report considerable skepticism about the possibility that any kind of "scent evidence" from the anthrax letters might at this point remain available for use in a police dog's nostrils.

Those letters were mailed nearly a year ago, by a perpetrator who apparently left no trace of his fingerprints and no recoverable sample of his DNA. And, crucially, as *Newsweek* itself mentions in passing, without elaboration, those letters have been "long since decontaminated." Decontamination (by irradiation) would structurally transform or outright destroy any organic material left on a piece of paper—like the skin cells or body oils necessary to construct an evidentiary "scent pack." So if the scents supposedly lifted from the anthrax letters were obtained by the FBI *after* such a decontamination procedure, they are very likely worthless as a tool of identification. And that appears to be the case.

Without exception, news reports from late last year, when preliminary examination of the anthrax letters was still underway, describe a process by which federal investigators first collected all extant bacterial spores for biochemical and physical analysis, next decontaminated the envelopes and Xeroxed enclosures, and *only then* delivered that paper evidence to FBI laboratories for forensic testing and development. In fact, the FBI more or less admits straight out that it was unable to pursue its standard evidentiary protocols with the anthrax letters until after they'd been permanently altered by irradiation. Posted on the Bureau's informational "Amerithrax Investigation" website is an interview to that effect with Joseph A. DiZinno, chief of the FBI Laboratory's Scientific Analysis Section (*www.fbi.gov/anthrax/dizinno/transcript.htm*).

Even assuming, for the sake of argument, that the Justice Department has somehow managed to recover a microscopic trace of the killer's characteristic aroma, where the FBI's sniffer canines have gone barking with the stuff should be interpreted with a measure of caution. History suggests that bloodhound evidence is a feast or famine enterprise. It has sometimes, miraculously, helped track down and save the lives of kidnapped children. But it has sometimes, disastrously, helped track down and falsely accuse an innocent man. In September 1998, a dog named TinkerBelle, her nose full of a "scent pack" very much like the ones employed by the FBI at Hatfill's apartment, led local police to a Long Beach, California, recreation department staffer named Jeffrey Allen Grant—who on the basis of TinkerBelle's wagging tail was promptly arrested, and advertised throughout the state, as a serial rapist. He would spend three pretrial months in jail before anyone thought to test his blood against DNA evidence retrieved from three separate

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crime scenes. Grant, it turned out, was not the rapist.

In short: As a bill of particulars against Steven J. Hatfill, the dogs and the dumpster and the dime-store novel are rather less than a bolt of lightning. So federal investigators must have, or must think they have, some further solid reason to make Hatfill a special focus of anthrax-case attention. We do not know for certain what that reason might be. But we have a wide array of would-be reasons to consider, in a variety of combinations. This because, feeling liberated to do so by Hatfill's public outing as a "person of interest," American journalism has lately rushed before the nation's eyes almost every unflattering story and rumor and outré theory that anyone has ever privately advanced against the man—up to and including the possibility that he has a history of white-supremacist violence.

One would like to think that the FBI long ago tracked down and resolved what's true and false in all this "information." Whether what's true in it actually ties Hatfill to a multiple murder, of course, is another matter entirely.

3 Where does the notion that Hatfill is a racist come from? Hatfill has lived in two different African countries formerly ruled by white minority regimes, and he appears in the past to have claimed a "military background" or "combat experience" in one of those countries, and "reserve" and "consultant" relationships with the army of the other. What these claims might mean, and what part of them is true, are wide open questions that probably can't and won't be settled until Hatfill comes forward with a clarification. For now, he is operating under an attorney's instructions not to answer media inquiries about his past. So there remains a quite considerable leap of speculation between what is known for certain about Hatfill's student days, on the one hand, and the widely circulating charge, on the other, that he "served in the armed forces of two white racist governments," as *New York Times* columnist Nicholas D. Kristof has put it. Documentary and testimonial corroboration of this "fact" (sometimes attached to vaguely sourced "suspicions" that Hatfill helped the racists kill black people with germs) is very hard to find, as it happens. And, oddly enough, what little, shaky evidence there is, insofar as anyone ever bothers to cite it, inevitably traces from—or through, or back to—an outfit called the Jewish Defense Organization (JDO).

That group's current role as a central clearinghouse of Hatfill demonology is never acknowledged by mainstream reporters who make use of the material—and for obvious reasons. JDO is located at the farthest, shadowy margins of American public life. It was founded in the 1980s as a radical, breakaway faction of Meir Kahane's already-quite-radical Jewish Defense League (JDL) by a man named Mordechai Levy. And under Levy, JDO has established a long record of scurrilous, sometimes even homicidal attacks on its real or imagined enemies. One day in August 1989, for example, when process servers attempted to present him with legal papers in a libel action brought against the JDO by a leader of the rival JDL, Levy mounted the roof of a Manhattan apartment building and opened fire on his visitors with an automatic rifle, missing the intended targets and wounding a 69-year-old bystander instead. For which crime Levy was sent to prison. More recently, in April 2000, Levy pled guilty to charges of assault after a 12-year-old boy told police that the man had kicked him in the face and testicles.

Levy and the JDO have not yet threatened Dr. Hatfill with bodily harm, though visitors to the organization's website—every American reporter on the anthrax beat has surely been there—immediately discover that its top-featured section (*www.jdo.org/hatfill.htm*) includes a lovingly imagined account of some future day, very soon, when "Dr. Steven 'Mengele' Hatfill," having first "attempted suicide," will be "awakened at 4 A.M. and transported to a cold, damp, and dirty holding cell," then tried, convicted, and given a lethal injection, "just like the lethal injection his former boss, Wouter Basson, gave to hundreds of black South Africans." This and much, much else besides is contained in an extraordinary, 50-some-page, always expanding dossier, "soon to be a paperback book," entitled *The Bioevangelist* and purporting to prove that "he did it."

To wit: Hatfill is a "Nazi" who "participated in genocide." Hatfill's "mentor" at the Godfrey Huggins School of Medicine was supposedly one Robert Burns Symington, "father of Rhodesia's biological warfare program." Hatfill helped Symington and the "white supremacist regime" start an epidemic of anthrax "in the latter phase of Zimbabwe's liberation war." The White Man having lost that war, Hatfill then took his wares to the "Medical Special Operations Battalion of the South African Army founded in 1981 by Wouter Basson," the Afrikaner regime's notorious biowarfare *capo*. While in South Africa, Hatfill was a "close associate of Eugene Terre Blanche," head of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement and a convicted murderer. And so on.

Trouble is, nothing in the many, impressive-looking footnotes appended to *The Bioevangelist* substantiates these assertions. Nothing links Hatfill to Robert Burns Symington. Nothing links Symington to anthrax, and nothing explains how Hatfill, then a first-year medical student with no biochemical laboratory training, could

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have helped Symington weaponize anthrax spores in the first place. Nothing links Hatfill to a "Special Operations Battalion" in South Africa. Nothing links Hatfill to Wouter Basson. And nothing links Hatfill to Eugene Terre Blanche (Terre Blanche denies the connection)—except a risibly amateurish South African news-service story, which cites a photograph that no one can find, and an unnamed "former colleague" who says Hatfill once claimed to have run a Resistance Movement training session (whose leader denies that).

Trouble is, too, that transparent innuendo like this—in sanitized, journalism-school, "some say," "is alleged" form—has now entered the American news-media bloodstream (thanks most prominently to *New York Times* columnist Kristof), casting an awful cloud of "racism" over Steven Hatfill's head.

Asked by e-mail for his name, and for additional evidence to buttress his case against Hatfill the "Nazi," the author of *The Bioevangelist* has sent THE WEEKLY STANDARD a reformatted version of the same essay, with many additional but entirely peripheral citations, and he has identified himself as A.J. Weberman.

4 Who is A.J. Weberman? During the 1970s, A.J. Weberman was briefly famous (in certain circles) for having decided, by virtue of extremely close, drug-fueled analysis of the lyrics to Bob Dylan songs, that Dylan was a heroin addict. In an effort to prove the point, Weberman then began collecting . . . things. He took out newspaper classified ads: "If anyone has a sample of Dylan's urine, please send it to me." He once broke into Dylan's home to confront the singer. And, most notably, he developed a habit of going through Dylan's garbage can and publicizing whatever he found. Weberman retains a casual interest in Dylan even today, it would seem. (A Dylan song plays in the background on the JDO *Bioevangelist* web page, if you have the right browser.) But Weberman eventually suspended his full-time practice of Dylan "garbology," moving on to the trash bins of such as Jackie Kennedy and Norman Mailer. And Weberman then, at some point, abandoned garbology altogether—and hooked up with Mordechai Levy and the JDO.

It was from the rooftop of A.J. Weberman's apartment building that Levy sprayed lower Manhattan with automatic rifle fire that day in 1989; the two men were named co-defendants in the libel action Levy was attempting to evade. And it was with A.J. Weberman as named co-defendant that Levy and his organization were very recently and successfully sued for libel again—by a man whom JDO's website had called a "pathological liar" and "psychopath." Six months ago, a Brooklyn, New York, jury unanimously assigned Weberman responsibility for $300,000 of a total $850,000 judgment.

5 A.J. Weberman aside, might Hatfill actually have served a role in the Rhodesian or South African armed forces? Yes, but the facts are murky and the "racism" now being automatically ascribed to Hatfill in this context is unsubstantiated.

Hatfill first traveled to Africa as a college undergraduate when he took eight months off from school—at the recommendation of his Methodist pastor, friends say—to change the bedpans of indigent villagers at a volunteer mission hospital in Zaire. Which is not the sort of thing one would expect to find in the background of a man who, three years later, is supposed to have taken up arms on behalf of Rhodesian white supremacists. Be that as it may, Hatfill next showed up in Africa around the summer of 1978 to begin his M.D. program in Salisbury, Rhodesia (now Harare, Zimbabwe), drawn, those same friends say, by the interest in tropical medicine he'd developed in Zaire, and by the convenience of study in an English-speaking country. Now floating around the Internet is what appears to be a version of Hatfill's *curriculum vitae* dating from sometime after 1998, and that document refers to "active combat experience with C Squadron Special Air Service" during his medical school years. Also floating around the Internet is what appears to be a biographical sketch Hatfill may once have sent his Southwestern College alumni magazine, which mentions a "military background" in both the SAS and another Rhodesian unit, the Selous Scouts. Finally, *Newsweek* says that interviews and "military records in Zimbabwe" indicate that Hatfill "did serve in the military in Rhodesia" in some unspecified capacity.

But here things get tricky. Nothing has yet emerged to corroborate Hatfill's association with the Selous Scouts. The Associated Press reports that "sources linked to Rhodesian security forces have no memory of [Hatfill]." A.J. Weberman reports, without explanation or comment, that an "SAS web site" has "denied that [Hatfill] was ever a member" of that squadron. And National Public Radio reports that a forthcoming United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research study by South African expert Chandré Gould will throw "cold water" on any suggestion that Hatfill fought with elite troops of the "white minority government" of Rhodesia—or had anything to do with an anthrax epidemic. Gould has apparently located and interviewed the man who was Hatfill's direct superior in the Rhodesian army, and that man rejects the notion that Hatfill's duties were at all unusual or important or sinister.

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Which stands to reason. Because, though the fact appears to have escaped the attention of everyone else who has so far publicly commented on the subject, by the time Steven Hatfill enrolled at medical school in Rhodesia, *the country was no longer governed by a white-minority regime*. African Methodist bishop Abel Muzorewa had already taken charge of a biracial transition government, whose majority-black army was fighting a desperate counterinsurgency war against Soviet-bloc-backed guerrillas led by the hideous Robert Mugabe. Before Hatfill's first year of med school was done, Muzorewa had been elected prime minister outright, in a successful popular election protected from violence by the Rhodesian army. And ten months later, in another election, this one highly irregular but also, nevertheless, protected by the Rhodesian army, Mugabe replaced Muzorewa as prime minister and quickly imposed a dictatorship on the newly renamed Zimbabwe. Hatfill would stick around for another four years.

The *curriculum vitae* alluded to above indicates that while Hatfill was subsequently living in South Africa, which was itself then undergoing a troubled but ultimately triumphant transition to majority rule, he may have been "assigned to" a reserve medical unit of that country's army, and may also have been a "consultant flight surgeon" with an air/sea rescue squadron of its air force. No independent confirmation of these claimed experiences has yet appeared, and nothing more is known about what they might have entailed—or when, exactly, they might have occurred. It might bear mentioning, however, that Nelson Mandela was president of South Africa when Hatfill finally departed for England and home.

Then, too, it might bear mentioning that some—or more than some—of the military adventures attributed to Hatfill could well represent pure fancy or embellishment on his part. *Newsweek* reports that the U.S. Army Special Forces duty he once claimed on a résumé submitted to NIH was exaggerated; an Army spokesman says Hatfill "flunked out" of Special Forces school after just one month. Relatedly, and potentially more damaging a reflection on his character, the Ph.D. Hatfill listed on that same résumé has never actually been awarded to him for some reason—though his dissertation research seems incontrovertibly real, having been published and cited in more than one medical journal or report, and though he later took steps to correct his federal personnel records.

Just the same, however discreditable they might be, and assuming that's what we're dealing with here, inaccurate boasts about past accomplishments, even when a man is attempting to secure a government job, are not enough to raise an inference that the fellow is a racist or a murderer.

6 Let's get out of Africa. Hasn't it been established that Hatfill had experience with and access to anthrax while he was working at Fort Detrick? No. Hatfill maintains that he has never worked with anthrax bacteria or seen a sample of the organism outside of photographs. He further maintains that he knows nothing about either the bug or the disease it causes beyond what he has randomly picked up in the normal course of his scientific career—and, lately, in the normal course of reading about himself in the newspaper. So far as we know, these avowals remain completely uncontradicted. Which fact cannot by itself, however, resolve the question whether Hatfill might, while at Fort Detrick, have been able secretly to gain access to the installation's anthrax and then steal a quantity of spores; it is next to impossible to prove that something *can't* have happened. Still, the scenario seems more than a little dubious.

Most of us remember the blizzard of stories that appeared last winter about a history of lax security at the Detrick laboratories. Most of us do not remember that most of the security lapses at issue in those stories, and all of the worst ones, dated back to the early 1990s. And that the principal evidence adduced for those lapses was derived from documents released in connection with an employment-discrimination lawsuit brought against USAMRIID by a scientist who claims the agency had fired him without cause. And that this man, along with another, similarly disgruntled ex-USAMRIID researcher involved in another, similarly bitter wrongful-discharge suit, were the primary quoted sources for last winter's "Fort Detrick in Chaos" exposés.

It is true that even current Fort Detrick scientists, some of them, have lately told reporters that they can conceive of methods by which they might, if they wished, sneak out of the labs with samples of those pathogens they are authorized to use in official experiments. But making off with pathogens they are *not* authorized to use is a very different matter. Current and former officials familiar with security arrangements at USAMRIID tell THE WEEKLY STANDARD that the place has considerably tightened up since the early 1990s. Even before last fall's anthrax attacks, key cards issued to Fort Detrick scientists granted them access only to their own labs and associated facilities—and were programmed to set off security alarms whenever misused. Steven Hatfill was a virology researcher when he worked at Fort Detrick. Consequently, as USAMRIID has publicly confirmed, he was never authorized to enter the bacteriological buildings where anthrax was kept and studied; he was never tasked to perform anthrax-related work of any kind; and he was never issued vials of anthrax for his own, private use.

Finally, as the *New York Times* reported on June 23,

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FBI technicians, through some form of radiocarbon dating, seem to have satisfied themselves that last fall's anthrax letters contained powders prepared from a freshly grown batch of bacteria, no more than two years old. If so, that would suggest that the perpetrator cannot have acquired the anthrax spores from which he cultured his weaponry any earlier than September 1999. Hatfill's National Research Council Grant at Fort Detrick, by its formal terms, ended that same month. But according to numerous published reports, Hatfill was no longer working at USAMRIID by then. He had been full-time at SAIC since the previous February.

7 Hasn't it been established that Hatfill had an up-to-date anthrax vaccination at the time last fall's letters were mailed? No. All Fort Detrick laboratory workers are required to undergo vaccinations against a broad range of pathogens, including anthrax bacteria, whether or not it's something they're likely ever to come in contact with. The standard course of immunizations for anthrax involves six initial shots over a period of eighteen months and then one regular booster shot every succeeding year. Hatfill, through his attorneys, says that his last anthrax shot came in late 1999, and that he hasn't had a booster since—which, if true, means that he was out of sequence and many months overdue for the relevant vaccination when the anthrax killer was putting last fall's powders together. Yes, the scientific literature, such as it is, suggests that anthrax vaccinations may continue to provide certain individuals, in widely varying degrees and according to factors that aren't yet fully understood, with significant protection against disease—even after a final booster shot has "expired." But that is not a bet you'd think an experienced scientist like Hatfill would be willing to make.

Of course, Hatfill could be lying about his vaccination history. But, so far as anyone can tell, there isn't any basis on which to level such an accusation.

8 Hasn't it been established that Hatfill once commissioned a secret study detailing exactly how a terrorist could effectively ship anthrax through the mail? No. The now-infamous "blueprint" study by retired U.S. bioweapons scientist William Patrick III, commissioned by SAIC on Hatfill's recommendation in February 1999, was treated as a case-breaking blockbuster when its existence was first publicly disclosed more than three months ago. "Whoa, something may be going on here," burbled "bioterrorism expert" Kyle Olson on ABC News; "our attacker may very well have used this report as something of a—if not a template, then certainly as a rule of thumb." Reactions like Olson's look foolish in retrospect, though. According to the latest published reports, vouched for to THE WEEKLY STANDARD by a scientist who's read the Patrick study and is familiar with the circumstances under which it was written, the document seems not to have discussed, much less revealed, any sensitive information about how one might best use the postal service to kill someone with anthrax. Rather, Patrick's (very short) report was designed to serve as the first draft of a mass-distribution advisory pamphlet concerning the public health and emergency response issues raised by a then-much-publicized wave of anthrax hoax letters mailed to abortion clinics. Clinic employees around the country were being hosed down with misted bleach by well-meaning but ill-informed local police and ambulance crews. Hatfill, SAIC, and Patrick thought the nation could and should do better.

Whatever technical information was included in Patrick's draft, incidentally, he appears to have put there on his own initiative. Hatfill did not request it. And none of it constituted a missing scientific ingredient for the preparation of anthrax terror letters.

9 If the allegations addressed in items 6 through 8 above haven't any certain foundation, where are they coming from, and why have they so often been repeated as fact by the media, without attribution or elaboration? Excellent question. Each of these "suspicions" about Hatfill—and many others, too, like the now thoroughly debunked X-Files story concerning a "conveniently located but remote location" where Hatfill skulked around "without risk of observation" last year, only to leave the place "contaminated with anthrax"—have originated with, or been most aggressively circulated by, Barbara Hatch Rosenberg, a professor of environmental science at the State University of New York in Purchase. We have met Rosenberg before in these pages. But it is time to amend her entry in the anthrax *Who's Who*. Rosenberg directs a working group on chemical and biological weapons for the Federation of American Scientists (FAS), and so she has generally been identified, here and elsewhere, in news accounts of the FBI's Amerithrax investigation. That practice must end forthwith, because it has become terribly unfair—to the Federation of American Scientists. At least since mid-June, the group has properly and palpably and publicly recoiled from Rosenberg's heedless, one might even say unscientific, defamation campaign against Steven Hatfill. "I would like to make clear that Rosenberg's remarks on this topic do not represent the views of the Federation of American Scientists," FAS president Henry C. Kelly has announced. "FAS opposes any effort to publicly identify possible suspects or 'persons of

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interest' in the anthrax investigation outside of a formal law enforcement proceeding," the Federation's website now honorably proclaims.

Rosenberg's most energetic and irresponsible media accomplice in the Fry Hatfill crusade, Nicholas Kristof, should need no introduction. And, alas, the institution with which *he* is most obviously affiliated definitely does *not* yet deserve protection or respite from the criticism his Hatfill work may have engendered. On August 26, *New York Times* editorial page editor Gail Collins briefly descended from Olympus to tell the rest of us mortals what the paper of record thinks about the many fascinating ethical questions raised by Kristof's months-long series of Hatfill slanders. Collins said this: "We have confidence in our columnists." Which is an unfathomable journalistic judgment, really. As was the *Times*'s willingness to run Kristof's columns in the first place.

Kristof has passed many of Barbara Hatch Rosenberg's rumors about Hatfill directly onto the pages of the nation's most important newspaper, with hardly a paraphrase, and without ever once giving the man an opportunity to explain himself in advance. Some of Rosenberg's fairy tales Kristof has actually "improved," as when, in the July 2 *Times*, he proposed that Hatfill's "isolated residence" may have been a "safe house operated by American intelligence." And other bits of especially lurid business Kristof appears to have come up with all by himself: Hatfill was "once caught with a girlfriend in a biohazard 'hot suite' at Fort Detrick, surrounded only by blushing germs." Nice turn of phrase. But how, pray tell, can we be sure it's true—since so much else that the phrasemaker has written is already beginning to stink?

10 Where will the Hatfill investigation go from here? Hard to predict. One does detect signs, however, that even the most obsessional of Hatfill's private-sector stalkers—and the Justice Department officials whose recent indiscretions make them look very much like stalkers, too—have started to feel pangs of nervousness about the project. Okay, maybe not A.J. Weberman. But Barbara Hatch Rosenberg, while still ridiculous and screechy as ever, is suddenly squirmy and defensive, as well. "No question, it was the FBI who outed him," she feebly insists. "I have never said or written anything that pointed only to one specific person. If anyone sees parallels, that's their opinion." Yeah, sure, lady. Nicholas Kristof mumbles briefly to the *Baltimore Sun*, "I stand by the columns." But he is otherwise nothing but gooey, hypocritical piety: There must be "a genuine assumption that [Hatfill] is an innocent man caught up in a nightmare"—and we don't want to go ruining people's lives "by tossing their names out there before they've been subject to any kind of criminal process," do we? *Tu quoque*, mister.

One "law enforcement official" admits to the *Los Angeles Times* that, "to be honest, we don't have anybody that is real good [as a possible anthrax suspect]. That is why so much energy has gone into Hatfill—because we didn't have anybody else." Other "senior law enforcement officials" express "embarrassment" to the *New York Times* over last week's e-mail directive to Louisiana State University, acknowledging that the Justice Department "acted improperly" by demanding the firing of a man who isn't even technically suspected of a crime. Yet another "senior Justice Department official" tells the *Wall Street Journal* that Attorney General Ashcroft "blundered" when he called Hatfill a "person of interest."

Fine, honest words, all of them. But to what practical effect, at this point? How many millions of Americans, you wonder, must already have seen a nightly telecast or two, noticed a lowered voice about "Rhodesia" or an eyebrow raised about "bloodhounds," and moved quickly from these hints to the only and obvious and probably indelible impression: that Steven J. Hatfill, M.D., must be some kind of monster?

11 Should we be ready to exonerate him, then? Should the FBI no longer be thinking about Dr. Hatfill at all? That's not the point, really. If it's truly the case that "we don't have anybody that is real good"—if the Justice Department, after a massive, historically unprecedented hunt for evidence, still isn't ready to consider ruling anybody in as a serious suspect in the anthrax murders—well, then it can't, as a matter of prudence, be ready to rule all that many people out as suspects, either. Some terrorist or group of terrorists has sent virulent bacteria through the mail and killed five Americans more or less at random. The FBI can't very well simply stop looking for the perpetrator. The FBI has to keep nosing widely around. It has to keep checking out "persons of interest," in the old-fashioned, informal, pre-Hatfill sense of the term. And in the old-fashioned, informal, pre-Hatfill sense of the term, yes, Hatfill himself might well be such a person.

But he might simultaneously be as innocent as a lamb. And if so, the way things have worked out, hasn't he been done a horrible wrong?

Under the system of justice we're supposed to enjoy, according to the canons of journalism we're supposed to observe, and by the rules of simple decency A.J. Weberman and Barbara Hatch Rosenberg's mommies are supposed to have taught them, none of us at this point should ever have heard the name Steven J. Hatfill. ♦

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Population Sense and Nonsense

Everything the experts think they know about overpopulation is wrong.

By Nicholas Eberstadt

The spectacle of some 100 heads of state and 50,000 conferees gathering these past two weeks in Johannesburg for a fractious and even raucous U.N. summit on sustainable development may have left the impression of healthy intellectual ferment in the world of development economics. Alas, on the big issues, an unwholesome orthodoxy still prevails. Indeed, on the crucial issue of understanding world population trends, the U.S. government, the United Nations, European bureaucrats, and Third World elites agree more than they disagree. This is not a consensus to be cheered, but a shared impediment to understanding and relieving the problems that animated the Johannesburg proceedings.

"Sustainable development," as envisioned by its devotees, cannot be achieved without first "stabilizing world population," as the phrase now goes. The objective of "population stabilization" was solemnly endorsed 15 years ago in the sustainable development movement's first canonical document—the Brundtland Commission's report, "Our Common Future." Since then, the quest to stabilize world population has been enthusiastically applauded by a wide array of international institutions and eminent personages: Kofi Annan and Warren Buffet; the World Bank and the U.S. State Department; the Ford Foundation and Al Gore.

What, exactly, does "stabilizing world population" mean? Despite its broad usage today, the banner itself is somewhat misleading, for those who carry it are not in fact concerned with *stabilizing* human numbers. If they were, one would expect to see them focusing more attention on Europe and Japan, where populations are currently projected to drop significantly over the next half-century. More immediately, human numbers are tumbling in the Russian Federation: Just last year the country suffered nearly a million more deaths than births. Yet supporters of population stabilization have not agitated for coordinated measures to lower Russia's death rate, raise its birth rate, and stanch its ongoing loss of population.

The reason for such insouciance about demographic decline by self-avowed population "stabilizers" is that their chosen standard does not quite describe their true mission. The actual aim, as the former executive director of the U.N. Population Fund has forthrightly declared, is "stabilization of world population at the lowest possible level, within the shortest period of time."

"Stabilizing" population, in fact, is code for the old project of anti-natal population control. The envisioned means of achieving stabilization is exactly the same: i.e., limiting the prevalence and reducing the level of childbearing around the world, especially in the Third World, and implementing measures to reduce births, particularly where fertility levels are deemed to be "unacceptably" high. This new version of the old anti-natalist crusade couches its arguments in the language of the social sciences and invokes the findings of the natural sciences to bolster its authority—but it cannot withstand the process of empirical review that lies at the heart of the scientific method. Whether they realize it or not, advocates of "world population stabilization" are devotees of doctrine, not followers of fact.

The case for action to "stabilize world population" rests upon four premises. The first holds that we are self-evidently in the midst of a world population crisis—a crisis defined by rapid population growth, which is exacerbating "overpopulation." Typical is the assertion by Al Gore in his bestselling book *Earth In The*

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Balance that "the absolute numbers [of the world's population] are staggering"; and that "we can't acquiesce in the continuation of a situation that adds another . . . China's worth of people every decade."

The second premise is that current rates of world population growth are not only unsustainable over the long term, but are having direct and immediate adverse repercussions on living standards, resource availability, and political stability. The third premise implicit in the agenda of "stabilizing human population" is that reduced birth rates constitute the solution to the population problems adduced by premises one and two. The fourth premise bolstering this agenda is the presumption that well-placed decision-makers can effectively and expeditiously engineer the desired changes in worldwide population patterns through deliberate policy interventions. (Again, Al Gore: "Population specialists now know with a high degree of confidence what factors dramatically reduce birth rates.")

All of these premises are highly problematic. None of them is self-evidently true. Indeed, to the extent that any of these are testable, it would appear that they are demonstrably false.

Consider the assertion that the world is simply burdened by too many people. If this is offered as an aesthetic judgment, it cannot be refuted (*de gustibus* and all that). But how does it fare as a testable scientific proposition?

Population density, for example, might seem to be a reasonable criterion for "overpopulation." By that criterion, Haiti, India, and Rwanda (each with over six times the world's average population density) would surely qualify as "overcrowded," and Bangladesh—with almost 20 times the inhabited globe's average density—would be manifestly "overcrowded." By that same criterion, however, Belgium (1999 population per square kilometer: 333) would be distinctly more "overcrowded" than Rwanda (1999 population per square kilometer: 275). Similarly, the Netherlands would be more "overcrowded" than Haiti, Bermuda more "overcrowded" than Bangladesh, and oil-rich Bahrain three times as "overcrowded" as India. The most "overcrowded" country in the world by this measure would be Monaco: With a dire 33,268 persons per square kilometer in 1999, it suffers a population density over 700 times the world average. Yet as we all know, population activists do not agitate themselves about the "overcrowding" problem in Monaco—or in Bermuda, or in Bahrain.

Do other demographic measures provide a better reading of the population problem that so many take to be so very obvious? Perhaps we might look at rates of population growth. In the 1990s, sub-Saharan Africa was estimated to have the world's very highest rate of population growth—the United Nations Population Division put its pace at over 2.5 percent a year for the period 1995-2000—and sub-Saharan Africa is clearly a troubled area these days. However, if we look back in history, we discover that the United States had an even higher rate of population growth at the end of the 18th century: In the decade 1790-1800, the U.S. pace of population growth was 3 percent a year. Some today may believe that sub-Saharan Africa has too many people—but would they say the same about early frontier America?

We could continue combing for demographic measures that might help to clarify the nature, and pinpoint the epicenters, of the population crisis. But as our exercise should already indicate, that would be a fruitless task, because *demographic criteria cannot by themselves unambiguously describe "overpopulation."*

The crisis that advocates of population "stabilization" wish to resolve is impossible to define in demographic terms because it is a problem that has been mis-defined. In most minds, the notions of "overpopulation," "overcrowding," or "too many people" are associated with images of hungry children, unchecked disease, squalid living conditions, and awful slums. Those problems, sad to say, are all too real in the contemporary world. But the proper name for those conditions is *poverty*. It is a fundamental lapse in logic to assume that poverty is a "population problem" simply because it is manifest in large numbers of human beings.

Let us now consider the second premise of "world population stabilization": that rapid population growth and high fertility levels cause or exacerbate poverty, resource scarcity, and political instability. Describing these interactions comprehensively and accurately is a tremendous and subtle challenge. But we need not dwell on the intricacies of demographers' model-building to appreciate the flaws in this premise.

We can instead recall the reason for the 20th century's "population explosion." Between 1900 and 2000, human numbers almost quadrupled, leaping from around 1.6 billion to over 6 billion; in pace or magnitude, nothing like that surge had ever previously taken place. But why exactly did the world experience a population explosion in the 20th century? It was not because people suddenly started breeding like rabbits—rather, it was because they finally stopped dying like flies.

Between 1900 and 2000, the human life span likely doubled: from a planetary life expectancy at birth of perhaps 30 years to one of over 60 years. By this measure, the overwhelming preponderance of the health progress in all of human history took place during the past hundred years. Over the past half-century, worldwide progress in

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reducing death rates has been especially dramatic. Between the early 1950s and the late 1990s, according to estimates by the United Nations Population Division, the planetary expectation of life at birth jumped from under 47 years to 65 years. For low income regions, the leap was even more dramatic. This radical drop in mortality is entirely responsible for the increase in human numbers over the course of the 20th century: The "population explosion," in other words, was really a "health explosion."

Now, with respect to economic development, the implications of a health explosion—of *any* health explosion—are, on their face, hardly negative. Quite the contrary: A healthier population is clearly going to be a population with greater productive potential. Healthier people are able to learn better, work harder, and engage in gainful employment longer than unhealthy, shorter-lived counterparts. Whether that potential translates into tangible economic results will naturally depend on other factors, such as social and legal institutions, or the business and policy climate. Nevertheless, the health explosion that propelled the 20th century's population explosion was an economically auspicious phenomenon rather than a troubling trend.

Why did the world experience a "population explosion" in the 20th century? It was not because people suddenly started breeding like rabbits—rather, it was because they finally stopped dying like flies.

All other things being equal, one would have expected the health explosion to contribute to the acceleration of economic growth, the increase of incomes, and the spread of wealth. And as it happens, the 20th century witnessed not only a population explosion, and a health explosion, but also a prosperity explosion. Estimates by the economic historian Angus Maddison, who has produced perhaps the most authoritative reconstruction of long-term global economic trends, demonstrate this.

Between 1900 and 1998, by Maddison's reckoning, global GDP per capita (in internationally adjusted 1990 dollars) more than quadrupled. Gains in productivity were globally uneven. Still, every region of the planet became richer. Africa's economic performance, according to Maddison, was the most dismal of any major global region over the course of the 20th century. Yet even there, per capita GDP was roughly two and a half times higher in 1998 than it had been in 1900.

Suffice it then to say that the 20th century's population explosion did not forestall the most dramatic and widespread improvement in output, incomes, and living standards that humanity had ever experienced. Though severe poverty still endures in much of the world, there can be no doubt that its incidence has been markedly curtailed over the past hundred years, despite a near-quadrupling of human numbers.

Maddison's estimates of global economic growth highlight another empirical problem with the second premise of the "population stabilization" project. With a near-quadrupling of the human population over the course of the 20th century, and a more than fourfold increase in human GDP per capita over those same years, global economic output has taken an absolutely amazing leap: Maddison's own figures suggest world economic output might have been over 18 times higher in 1998 than it was in 1900. This means, of course, that humanity's demand for, and consumption of, natural resources has also rocketed upward. Yet the relative prices of virtually all primary commodities have *fallen* over the course of the 20th century—for many of them, quite substantially.

Despite the tremendous expansion of the international grain trade over the past century, for example, the inflation-adjusted, dollar-denominated international price of each of the major cereals—corn, wheat, and rice—fell by over 70 percent between 1900 and 1998. By the same token: The *Economist* magazine's "industrial commodity-price index"—which tracks 24 internationally traded metals and other commodities—registered a decline of almost 80 percent between 1900 and 1999.

This seeming paradox of exploding demand for resources and simultaneous pronounced declines in real resource prices should be especially arresting to the reader with essentially Malthusian sensibilities. In the most fundamental sense, after all, prices convey information about scarcity—and they would seem to be indicating that the resources humanity makes economic use of have been growing *less scarce* over the course of the 20th century. There are sound explanations for this paradox—but the "stabilization" project's second premise, which holds that population growth must result in increasing resource scarcity, is hardly able to provide it.

The third premise of the population stabilizers—that birth rates must be lowered to mitigate the adverse economic, resource, and political consequences of rapid population growth—requires absolutely no substantiation if one is already a true believer in the anti-natalist creed. For the empirically inclined—those who must be convinced that a problem exists before consenting to the public

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action proposed to redress it—the shakiness of the first two premises means there is barely any foundation remaining to support the third.

But suppose we nonetheless persist in believing that there is a pressing need to take public action to lower worldwide birthrates. It would not necessarily follow that the desired result could be achieved—or achieved at an acceptable cost—or achieved voluntarily. Here lies the pivotal importance of the fourth premise of the population stabilizers: namely, that a cadre of "population specialists" know how international birth rates can be lowered, and that these specialists can provide policymakers with reliable advice about the interventions that will bring about fertility declines.

Alas, the plain fact is that careful students of childbearing patterns through history have *not* uncovered the magic formula that explains why fertility changes occurred in the past—much less identified the policy levers that can be manipulated to determine how these trends will unfold in the future.

What demographers call "secular fertility decline"—the sustained, long-term shift from big families to small ones—showed up for the first time in Europe, about 200 years ago. But it did not begin in England and Wales—then perhaps the most open, literate, and industrialized part of the continent, if not the world. Instead it began in France, a country then impoverished, overwhelmingly rural, predominantly illiterate—and, not to put too fine a point on it, Catholic. Clearly, the "modernization" model does not plausibly explain the advent of fertility decline in the modern world. And, unfortunately, alternative models do not fare much better. Reviewing the theories of fertility decline in Western Europe and the evidence adduced to support them, the historian Charles Tilly wrote, "The problem is that we have too many explanations which are plausible in general terms, which contradict each other to some degree and which fail to fit some significant part of the facts." What was true for Western Europe at the onset of this process holds equally for the rest of the world today.

Al Gore's *Earth In The Balance* exemplifies the thinking of many current proponents of "world population stabilization" in its list of factors assumed to be instrumental in achieving sustained fertility reductions:

> *High literacy rates and education levels* are important, especially for women; once they are empowered intellectually and socially they make decisions about the number of children they wish to have. *Low infant mortality rates* give parents a sense of confidence that even with a small family, some of their children will grow to maturity . . . and provide physical security when they are old. *Nearly ubiquitous access to a variety of affordable birth control techniques* gives parents the power to choose when and whether to have children. [Emphasis in the original]

Each of these three objectives may well be desirable in its own right, entirely irrespective of its influence on birth rates. As purported "determinants" of fertility change, however, the explanatory and predictive properties of these three factors leave a great deal to be desired.

For instance, according to the World Bank, the adult illiteracy rate for both males and females was higher in 1998 in Mongolia than in Tanzania—but Tanzania's fertility level in 1998 was more than twice as high as Mongolia's (5.4 vs. 2.5 births per woman). Tunisia and Rwanda were said to have almost identical rates of adult female illiteracy (42 percent vs. 43 percent), yet Tunisia's fertility level is put at just over replacement (2.2) while Rwanda's is almost three times higher (6.2). And although Bangladesh's female illiteracy rate is still placed at over 70 percent, the country's fertility level is said to have fallen by almost half between 1980 and 1998. Iran's total fertility rate is said to have plummeted by a remarkable 60 percent—from 6.7 to 2.7—over those same 18 years. But presumably the Iranian revolution is not what proponents of "population stabilization" have in mind in arguing that the intellectual and social empowerment of women lead to smaller families.

Infant mortality provides scarcely more information about fertility change. By the U.N. Population Division's projections, for example, Jordan's infant mortality rate was about the same as Thailand's in the early 1990s—but where Thailand's fertility level at that time was below replacement, Jordan's was above 5 births per woman per lifetime. Such examples can be multiplied. The onset of sustained fertility decline in France took place during a period (1780-1820) when the country suffered an estimated average of almost 200 infant deaths for every 1,000 births. No country in the contemporary world suffers from such a brutally high infant mortality rate—yet a number of countries with considerably lower infant mortality rates than prevailed in Napoleonic France have yet to enter into fertility decline.

As for the relationship between fertility and the availability of modern contraceptives (or national programs to subsidize or encourage their use), inconvenient facts must once again be faced. The utilization rates for modern contraceptive methods are not a reliable indicator of a society's fertility level. In the early 1990s, among married women ages 15-49, Zimbabwe's rate of modern contraceptive use was three times as high as Romania's (42 percent vs. 14 percent)—yet Romania's estimated total fertility rate was about 1.4 whereas Zimbabwe's was about 4.1. Syria's rate of modern contraceptive prevalence was like-

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wise higher than Lithuania's (29 percent vs. 22 percent)—yet Syria's total fertility rate was three times the Lithuanian level (4.6 vs. 1.5). Further such examples abound.

What is more, the independent influence of national population programs on national birth rates appears to be much more limited than enthusiasts are willing to recognize. A comparison of Mexico and Brazil, Latin America's two most populous countries, illustrates the point. Since 1974, the Mexican government has sponsored a national family planning program expressly committed to reducing the country's rate of population growth. Brazil, by contrast, has *never* implemented a national family planning program. In the quarter century after the introduction of Mexico's national population program, Mexican fertility levels fell by an estimated 56 percent. In Brazil, during the same period, fertility is estimated to have declined by 54 percent—an almost identical proportion. And despite the absence of a national family planning program, Brazil's fertility levels today remain lower than Mexico's.

In the final analysis, the single best predictor of fertility levels turns out to be *desired* fertility levels—the number of children that women say they would like to have. Perhaps this should not be surprising: Parents tend to have strong opinions about important matters pertaining to their family; parents tend to act on the basis of those opinions; and even in the Third World, parents do not believe that babies are found under cabbages. The primacy of desired fertility explains why birth rates can be higher in regions where contraceptive utilization rates are also higher: For it is parents, not pills, that make the final choice about family size.

For advocates of "stabilizing world population," the predominance of parental preferences in determining birth rates creates an awkward dilemma. If parental preferences really rule, and a government sets official population targets for a voluntary family planning program, those targets are not likely to be met. Indeed, if parents are permitted to pursue the family size they choose, national population programs can only meet their targets by complete and utter chance.

On the other hand, if a government sets population targets and wishes to stand a reasonable chance of achieving them, the mischievous independence of parental preferences means that voluntary population programs cannot be relied upon. If states, rather than parents, are to determine a society's preferred childbearing patterns, governments must be able to force parents to adhere to the officially approved parameters. (China's draconian enforcement of a one-child policy—through forced abortions, sterilizations, and infanticide—is only the most notorious example of a government's following through to its conclusion the inescapable logic of the "population stabilization" dogma.)

Whether they recognize it or not, advocates of anti-natal population programs must make a fateful choice. They must opt for voluntarism, in which case their population targets will be meaningless. Or they must embrace coercive measures. There is no third way.

Fortunately for our troubled planet, humanity's demographic and development prospects have been seriously misconstrued by the pessimistic doctrine of "world population stabilization." While the prevalence of poverty across the globe is unacceptably great today—and will continue to be so in the future (after all, what level of poverty should be *acceptable*?)—humanity has enjoyed unprecedented and extraordinary improvements in material living standards over the past century, and over the past few decades in particular. Those improvements are represented in the worldwide increases in life expectancy and per capita income levels that we have already reviewed.

The tremendous and continuing spread of health and prosperity around the planet betokens a powerful and historically novel dynamic that anti-natalists today only dimly apprehend. This is the shift on a global scale from the reliance on "natural resources" to the reliance on "human resources" as fuel for economic growth. The worldwide surge in health levels has not been an isolated phenomenon. To the contrary: It has been accompanied by, and is inextricably linked to, pervasive and dramatic (albeit highly uneven) increases in nutrition levels, literacy levels, and levels of general educational attainment. These interlocked trends point to a profound and continuing worldwide augmentation of what some have called "human capital" and others term "human resources"—the human potential to generate a prosperity based upon knowledge, skills, organization, and other innately human capabilities.

In a physical sense, the natural resources of the planet are clearly finite and therefore limited. But the planet is now experiencing a monumental expansion of human resources. And unlike natural resources, human resources are in practice renewable and in theory inexhaustible—indeed, it is not at all evident that there are any "natural" limits to the buildup of such potentially productive human-based capabilities.

It is in ignoring these very human resources that so many contemporary surveyors of the global prospect have so signally misjudged the demographic and environmental constraints upon development today—and equally misjudged the possibilities for tomorrow. ♦

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Black Listed Cancer Treatment Could Save Your Life

Baltimore, MD— As unbelievable as it seems the key to stopping many cancers has been around for over 30 years. Yet it has been banned. Blocked. And kept out of your medicine cabinet by the very agency designed to protect your health—the FDA.

In 1966, the senior oncologist at a prominent New York hospital rocked the medical world when he developed a serum that **"shrank cancer tumors in 45 minutes!"** 90 minutes later they were gone... Headlines hit every major paper around the world. Scientists and researchers applauded. Time and again this life saving treatment worked miracles, but the FDA ignored the research and hope he brought and shut him down.

You read that right. He was not only shut down—but also forced out of the country where others benefited from his discovery. That was 35 years ago. How many other treatments have they been allowed to hide? Just as in the case of Dr. Burton's miracle serum these too go unmentioned.

Two-Nutrient Cancer Breakthrough...

Decades ago, European research scientist Dr. Johanna Budwig, a six-time Nobel Award nominee, discovered a totally natural formula that not only protects against the development of cancer, but people all over the world who have been diagnosed with incurable cancer and sent home to die have actually benefited from her research—and now lead normal lives.

After 30 years of study, Dr. Budwig discovered that the blood of seriously ill cancer patients was deficient in certain substances and nutrients. Yet, healthy blood always contained these ingredients. It was the lack of these nutrients that allowed cancer cells to grow wild and out of control.

By simply eating a combination of two natural and delicious foods (found on page 134) not only can cancer be prevented—but in case after case it was actually healed! "Symptoms of cancer, liver dysfunction, and diabetes were completely alleviated." Remarkably, what Dr. Budwig discovered was a totally natural way for eradicating cancer.

However, when she went to publish these results so that everyone could benefit—**she was blocked by manufacturers with heavy financial stakes!** For over 10 years now her methods have proved effective—yet she is denied publication—blocked by the giants who don't want you to read her words.

What's more, the world is full of expert minds like Dr. Budwig who have pursued cancer remedies and come up with remarkable natural formulas and diets that work for hundreds and thousands of patients. *How to Fight Cancer & Win* author William Fischer has studied these methods and revealed their secrets for you—so that you or someone you love may be spared the horrors of conventional cancer treatments.

As early as 1947, Virginia Livingston, M.D., isolated a cancer-causing microbe. She noted that every cancer sample analyzed (whether human or other animal) contained it.

This microbe—a bacteria that is actually in each of us from birth to death—multiplies and promotes cancer when the immune system is weakened by disease, stress, or poor nutrition. Worst of all, the microbes secrete a special hormone protector that short-circuits our body's immune system—allowing the microbes to grow undetected for years. No wonder so many patients are riddled with cancer by the time it is detected. But there is hope even for them...

Six-time Nobel Nominee's Two-Nutrient Cancer Breakthrough Revealed

Turn to page 82 of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* for the delicious diet that can help stop the formation of cancer cells and shrink tumors.

They walked away from traditional cancer treatments...and were healed! Throughout the pages of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* you'll meet real people who were diagnosed with cancer—suffered through harsh conventional treatments—turned their backs on so called modern medicine—only to be miraculously healed by natural means! Here is just a sampling of what others have to say about the book.

"We purchased *How to Fight Cancer & Win*, and immediately my husband started following the recommended diet for his just diagnosed colon cancer. He refused the surgery that our doctors advised. Since following the regime recommended in the book he has had no problems at all, cancer-wise. If not cured, we believe the cancer has to be in remission."

—Thelma B.

"I bought *How to Fight Cancer & Win* and this has to be the greatest book I've ever read. I have had astounding results from the easy to understand knowledge found in this book. My whole life has improved drastically and I have done so much for many others. The information goes far beyond the health thinking of today."

—Hugh M.

"I can't find adequate words to describe my appreciation of your work in providing *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. You had to do an enormous amount of research to bring this vast and most important knowledge to your readers.

My doctor found two tumors on my prostate with a high P.S.A. He scheduled a time to surgically remove the prostate, but I canceled the appointment. Instead I went on the diet discussed in the book combined with another supplement. Over the months my P.S.A. has lowered until the last reading was one point two."

—Duncan M.

"In my 55 years as a Country Family Physician, I have never read a more 'down to earth,' practical resume of cancer prevention and treatments, than in this book. It needs to be studied worldwide for the prevention of cancer by all researchers who are looking for a cure."

—Edward S.,MD

"As a cancer patient who has been battling lymphatic cancer on and off for almost three years now, I was very pleased to stumble across *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. The book was inspiring, well-written and packed with useful information for any cancer patient looking to maximize his or her chances for recovery."

—Romany S.

"I've been incorporating Dr. Budwig's natural remedy into my diet and have told others about it. Your book is very informative and has information I've never heard about before (and I've read many books on the cancer and nutrition link). Thanks for the wonderful information."

—Molly G.

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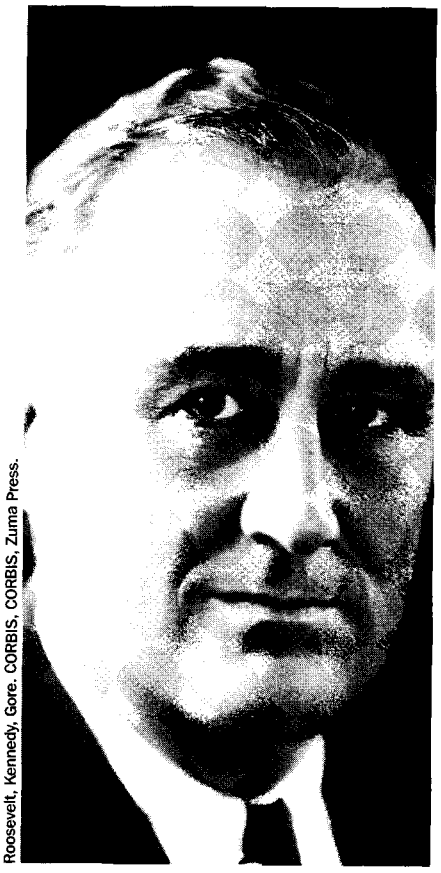
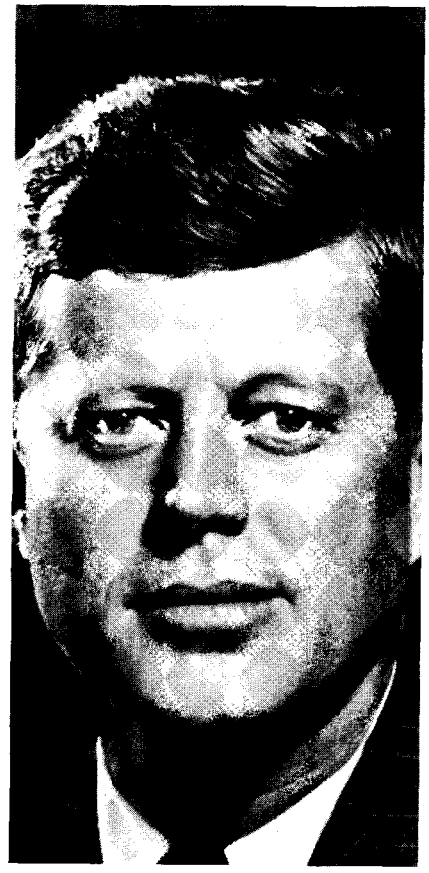

Roosevelt, Kennedy, Gore. CORBIS, CORBIS, Zuma Press.

Does the Democratic Party Have a Future?

By Brad Carson

Working-class Americans typically vote Republican—and that creates a terrible dilemma for Democrats. The party of Franklin Delano Roosevelt still sees itself as representing the common people, the salt of the earth, the hardscrabble men and women of *The Grapes of Wrath*, the Tom Joads of the world. But, despite the pretense, it simply isn't true. Blue-collar Americans have largely rebuffed the Democratic party.

There are exceptions, of course. Democrats garner nearly unanimous support among African Americans and receive significant majorities of Latino and union voters. But the party finds little respect in the non-union working class, and its strongest allegiance comes from the professional classes (especially professional women) who form the nation's elite.

Representative Brad Carson is a Democratic congressman from Oklahoma.

The Emerging Democratic Majority
by John B. Judis and Ruy Teixeira
Scribner, 224 pp., $24

It is exactly this dissonance between the party's reality and its mythology that renders Al Gore's rhetoric of the "people versus the powerful" so unpersuasive. If anyone can plausibly claim to own the hearts and minds of America's elite, it is the Democrats. And if anyone receives the lion's share of votes from the millions of Americans for whom the levers of power are far away, it is the Republicans.

Few have written as interestingly about the Democratic party as John Judis and Ruy Teixeira. Judis, the biographer of William F. Buckley and author of a book on the role of elites in policymaking, is one of the most prolific liberal journalists, a fixture in the *American Prospect* and the *New Republic*. Teixeira, less fecund if more scholarly, began his career with a trenchant analysis of voting behavior. He burst into public recognition last year with a widely noticed book (cowritten with Joel Rogers) called *America's Forgotten Majority: Why the White Working Class Still Matters*, in which he turned his statistical gaze to the electoral rejection

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of Democrats by the party's ostensible base.

Together, Judis and Teixeira seem ideally suited to analyze for us the gap between the image and the reality of the Democratic party. Unfortunately, their new joint effort, *The Emerging Democratic Majority*, never gets around to doing so. Indeed, they set this problem entirely aside to make instead a rose-colored prediction of looming Democratic triumph.

For Judis and Teixeira, Al Gore's victory in the 2000 popular vote augurs an era of dominance for the Democrats. Their case is not altogether unconvincing. When the Green votes garnered by Ralph Nader are added to Gore's Democratic totals, liberals won a clear majority of the nation's vote. Equally important, Democrats commanded majorities—sometimes vast—of the most rapidly growing demographic groups. Professional workers (as defined by the Census Bureau) grew by 30 percent during the 1990s, and Gore won their votes by a margin of more than 10 percentage points. College-educated women gave nearly 60 percent of their votes to Gore, and 63 percent of women with advanced degrees supported him.

To this base of affluent, well-educated elites, Democrats add a number of historically oppressed minority groups whose cause the Democratic party has long championed. Latinos, rapidly growing and concentrated in such critically important states as California, New York, and New Jersey (as well as Texas and Florida), gave Gore healthy margins of victory, as did the even more rapidly growing Asian-American population. African Americans, although not increasing in number, have become even more unified behind the party, giving Gore 90 percent of their vote.

In part because of this incongruous union of the educated elite and minority groups, Gore carried the most prosperous and heavily populated regions of the country. With the exception of New Hampshire, Democrats took every state in the strongly professionalized Northeast in the 2000 presidential

Walker Evans / Library of Congress

election. The party had similar success in the industrial region of the Midwest, where large states like Michigan and Illinois went for Gore. The growing Latino vote in New Mexico and, to a lesser extent, Arizona has given both states a Democratic tilt. With expanding high-technology sectors, North Carolina and Virginia trended Democratic, and Florida, with its retirees and Latinos, has become—as everyone remembers—a battleground, with strong Democratic potential for the future. To the west, California, Washington, and Oregon form an impregnable Democratic stronghold in presidential elections. And within these states, Democrats are demonstrating special strength in what Judis and Teixeira call "ideopolises," cities such as San Jose and Raleigh-Durham that have become magnets for well-educated managers, teachers, professors, and engineers.

Judis and Teixeira do a fine job detailing the changes in American demographics that seem to offer optimism to Democrats. But they are less sure-footed in discussing the more interesting question of why certain groups and geographic regions support a particular party. Without a persuasive investigation of this question, we cannot know what the trends of the 2000 election mean—whether they mark a tectonic realignment or merely a political hiccup. And it is the lack of deep cultural and political analysis that separates *The Emerging Democratic Majority* from *The Emerging Republican Majority*, Kevin Phillips's seminal 1969 work that Judis and Teixeira took as their model.

The Emerging Republican Majority is justly hailed as a classic of political science, and it reads as well today as it did thirty years ago. Phillips used his acute dissection of the 1968 election to look forward and accurately predict the political fallout of federal intervention to desegregate the South. He used the 1968 election as well to look backward and sketch the settlement patterns, Civil War biases, and ethnic politics that determined political outcomes from 1868 to Nixon's success a century later. Why did Mormons support Democrats for many decades? Why was Kennedy's Catholicism essential to his appeal in the aftermath of Eisenhower? Why did Yankee settlements influence Missouri's politics, but not Kentucky's? How did Scandinavian immigrants change elections around Puget Sound?

For Phillips, small details of geography and history were vitally important, precisely because he sought to comprehend the cultural forces that were causing the Republican realignment he observed. Phillips understood that political victory goes to those who offer the most appealing solutions to the day's public problems. He saw both that governing majorities require political compromises and that such compromises cannot forever bind together ideological antagonists. The New Deal coalition assembled by Roosevelt in response to the Great Depression was inevitably fractured by civil rights, just as the Republican majorities of the preceding era—forged in the cataclysm of the Civil War—could not withstand the pressures of a later war and severe economic upheaval. *The Emerging Republican Majority* was

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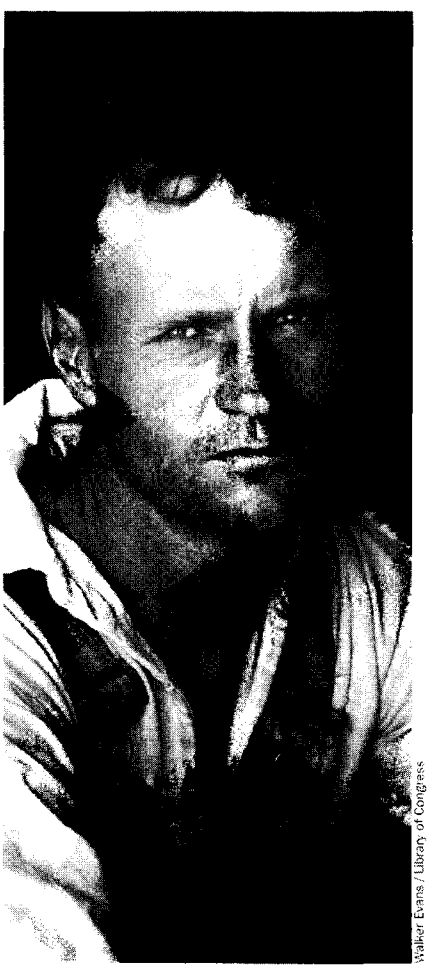
Phillips's ambitious attempt to outline the problems and solutions around which the GOP was building a majority for the 1970s and beyond.

At half the length of Phillips's opus, Judis and Teixeira's *The Emerging Democratic Majority* does not aspire to the same epic scope. But the sparse treatment of American political history and culture means that Judis and Teixeira never adequately explain the "social and political conflict" that, in their minds, presages political realignment. Their failure may result from the fact that they're looking in the wrong places. *The Emerging Democratic Majority* exhibits the standard progressive discomfort with the sociological implications of religious faith (most absurdly when Judis and Teixeira cavalierly equate opposition to stem-cell research with support of anti-Darwinian creationism), and the book is informed throughout by its authors' preference—typical of Democrats—to analyze the United States on racial and class lines, rather than on cultural ones.

The truth is exactly the other way around: We must look for the roots of our emerging political crisis not primarily in race and class, but in culture. For many Americans, especially working-class religious believers, there is a growing fear that the culture has become hostile to family, country, duty, and responsibility, and that our civilization's technical expertise has outstripped its ethical wisdom. This fear of cultural turmoil often trumps more materialistic concerns. When Democrats are perceived as unconcerned about cultural changes—or even as the active agents bringing those changes about—then the party suffers the defection of many people who were once part of the New Deal majority. For the sons and daughters of Tom Joad—and, to a lesser extent, for the heavily religious Latino and African-American communities—abortion, human cloning, and Internet pornography are as important as the minimum wage, Medicare, and workplace protections. Republicans and their allies on the Religious Right take these issues seriously, and, as the only party displaying concern about America's moral culture, the GOP reaps *all* the political benefits.

Democrats today find themselves confronted by two difficulties. In a world where skepticism about economic regulation and meddling has filtered down from the intellectual salons of Chicago and Rochester to small towns and suburbs, the Democratic push for governmental intervention in various areas of the economy finds fierce resistance. At the same time, the Democratic championing of social liberalism, appropriate to mitigate oppressiveness in traditional societies, is a tough sell among a growing number of people who fear that liberty, in the absence of premodern virtues, inevitably degenerates into antinomianism.

At the same time, the Republican alliance with the Religious Right is fraught with danger, for, as Judis and Teixeira point out, a large majority of Americans reject the harsh views of Christian fundamentalists. The future belongs to the political party that is able to articulate a coherent public philosophy that recognizes the difference between liberty and license, religious expression and corrosive sectarianism, duty and compulsion, beneficial scientific advances and self-defeating moves into a post-human future.


Walker Evans / Library of Congress

Judis and Teixeira may be right in arguing that Republicans offer the wrong answers to today's problems, but at least the GOP recognizes that these actually *are* problems. Tough work in political philosophy and political science must be done by the Democrats if they have ambitions to establish a new majority. In predicting Democratic success over the next few years, *The Emerging Democratic Majority* presents no real case for realignment. Judis and Teixeira merely extrapolate today's transitional politics into the future—and it is not actually likely that we will form a long-ruling majority from a Democratic party bereft of new ideas and blithely ignoring (or even, in the minds of some, fomenting) cultural turmoil.

If nothing else, the Democrats' failures in Middle America should give us pause. Back in *The Emerging Republican Majority*, Phillips noted that political upheavals—whether the Progressive movement, the New Deal, or Goldwater Republicanism—usually find their initial success in the heartland, that broad expanse that we now routinely refer to as the "red states." The fact that Middle America is at present such infertile ground for Democrats does not seem to presage a liberal realignment. In fact, it suggests the opposite: a continuing Republican majority.

In the meantime, Democrats can only await their Spartacus—the leader of the revolution that will return the party to its traditional concern for the common people, the salt of the earth, the Tom Joads. In *The Emerging Democratic Majority*, despite its occasional strengths, you won't find his biography. That's a pity. ♦

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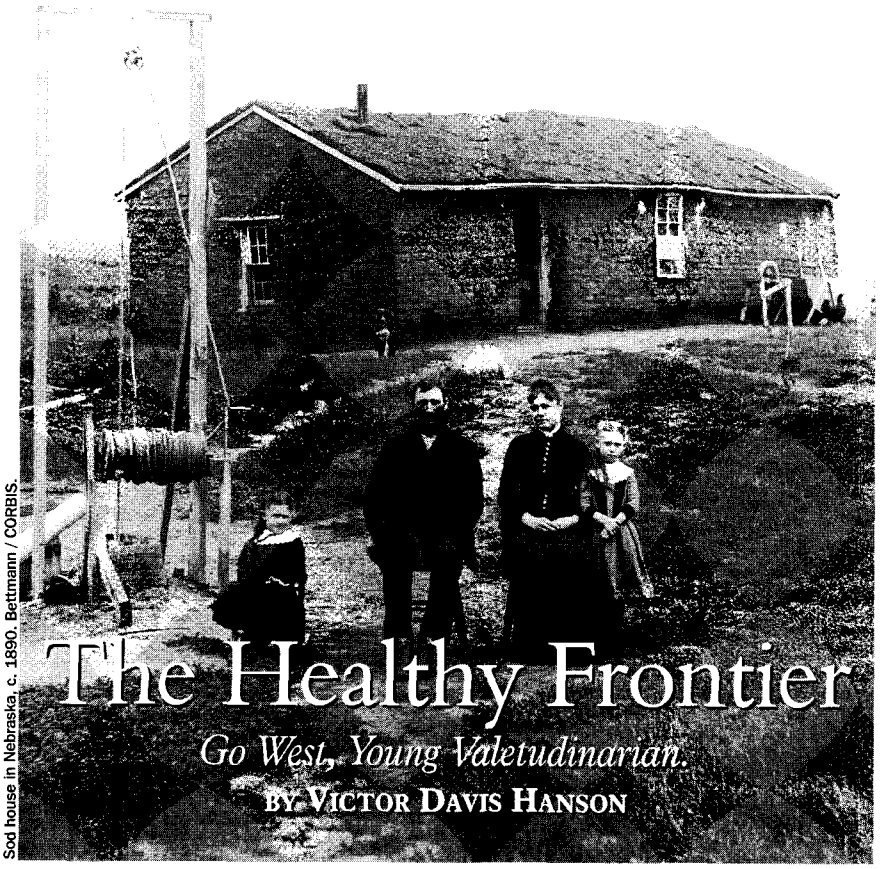

Sod house in Nebraska, c. 1890. Bettmann / CORBIS.

The Healthy Frontier

Go West, Young Valetudinarian.

BY VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

We often envision frontiersmen and settlers mostly as impoverished immigrants who went west to find wealth, cheap land, or escape from the law, creditors, and Eastern monotony. Traditional histories of the American expansion revolve around their wars—massacres and counter-massacres between whites, Indians, Mormons, and Mexicans—and the politics of statehood, open rangeland, water and mineral rights, and the railroads.

But according to Conevery Valencius in *The Health of the Country: How American Settlers Understood Themselves and Their Land*, none of these conventional approaches makes much sense without uncovering the mentality of American settlers—specifically the obsessive ways in which they viewed their own health and its total dependence upon the natural environment.

The Health of the Country
How American Settlers Understood Themselves and Their Land
by Conevery Bolton Valencius
Basic, 384 pp., $30

Today, divorced from hard physical work, ignorant of farming, surrounded by appliances, and the beneficiaries of high-tech medical science, few of us worry much about the effect of water, air, heat, and soil upon our daily well-being. We become sick because of a particular virus, bacterium, parasite, or tumor—and expect to be diagnosed properly and cured promptly through the proper antibiotic, antiviral agent, surgery, or chemotherapy. CAT scans, MRIs, spinal taps, blood tests, and a host of other diagnostic tools seek to establish cause and effect: A particular pathogen makes us sick, and thus its elimination can make us well. In the meantime, we go on with our lives, hardly worried whether it rains or snows, whether cumulus clouds are on the horizon, whether pools of rainwater collect in the street, or whether we get transferred to sultry Houston or crisp Minneapolis.

No so our ancestors on the frontier. Still captive after 2,400 years to a Hippocratic exegesis of wellness as the proper mixture of four humors—blood, phlegm, yellow and black bile—early Americans saw health's balance as precarious. Being well or sick depended almost entirely on the immediate surrounding landscape, one that was foreign and exotic to most arrivals from the east. Unlike modern man, nineteenth-century people could not trump their environment, and thus sought to bend to its frightening dictates in almost every aspect of travel, sleep, work, and eating.

Ague (malaria), consumption (tuberculosis), boils (tumors and infected wounds), chills (infectious disease), and flux (dysentery) were thought to be the results of extremes of temperature, malodorous air, sudden changes of scenery, out-of-season rains, and standing water. The remedy was two-fold: migrating to a healthier climate (usually somewhere drier, higher, colder—and poorer) and undergoing a frightening regimen that might include blood-letting, purges, or the ingestion of opium and mercury that often were more likely to kill than cure the patient. At its best, early medicine at least understood that particular habits—plenty of rest, hard physical work, normal sleeping hours, avoidance of alcohol and obesity—could create a healthy "constitution" that might withstand the land and elements, and therefore not "break" under the assaults of both.

Valencius's purposes in *The Health of the Country* transcend her fascinating descriptions of private letters and diaries attesting to frontier people's terror of and close attention to the sickly seasons of the new western environment. Much of her narrative revolves around Arkansas, Missouri, and the Mississippi Valley, explaining in novel ways the rather peculiar culture of the South—a region deemed unhealthy for white people from northern Europe but in turn ideal for Africans who purportedly alone could withstand the temperatures and were believed better immune from attendant tropical maladies.

Today we care little for such environmental determinism, when air-con-

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ditioners, an array of medicines, and chlorinated drinking water and swimming pools can make tropical life not merely endurable, but often a vacation paradise. But for Europeans two centuries ago to survive in the "effluvia" and "miasma" of swampland, others more "naturally" acclimated to such an environment would have to do the menial work. Meanwhile, periodic naps and rests, confinement indoors, a less frenzied pace, and periodic seasonal changes of residence were essential for survival. It was not merely the racist pseudo-science of genetic inferiority that was the basis for chattel slavery, but also a strange belief in the physical superiority of blacks over whites.

We forget just how deadly the climate of the early South was for newcomers who had never quite experienced mass epidemics of malaria, cholera, typhus, and Yellow Fever—challenges that help explain why southerners felt themselves a beleaguered people who had to craft a unique culture in everything from medical practice to housing, one quite different from the world of those who farmed in New England, Minnesota, or Michigan.

It is popular now to talk of American rapaciousness and environmental desecration, but not of the multitude of ways settlers perished from poor food, infected water, diseases that are now easily treated, and wrongheaded therapies. We perhaps rightly see many white homesteaders as race-obsessed, forgetting that a great deal of their thinking was predicated on empirical experience with Native Americans and chattel slaves who were felt to be hardier and somehow different in their ability to withstand heat and adapt to local seasons, waters, and airs. When thousands die unexpectedly from poorly understood causes there is ample opportunity for racial quackery, false knowledge, superstition, and folk tradition to reign over reason. In turn, the breakneck effort to plow up the prairies and clear cut forests was not always the result of greed or intrinsic wastefulness, but often the consequence of a genuine effort to make the land healthy by turning the unfamiliar into well-known wheat fields, orchards, and homesteads. Only then could proper wells be dug, swamps drained, miasma dried up, and shelter established, thus ensuring the health of the fragile frontier family.

Given the last three depressing decades of academic postmodernism and new historicism, most readers are now wary when encountering repeated allusions in cultural history to "the body," "metaphors of meaning," "imaginative geographies," "race and gender"—all the catch phrases of the new academics who see history as little more than a jaunt to the past to uncover the role of power between victims and their oppressors. And it's true that Valencius investigates all the trendy topics and often employs the new lingo (the book is based on her Harvard doctoral thesis). But the result in *The Health of the Country* is one of empathy rather than disdain for beleaguered pioneers, as she more often tells us of the ordeal weathered than the evil committed. "We live in a world in which these relationships have been utterly transformed," she writes,

> not only by dramatic changes in science, medicine, and technologies but also by cumulative revolutions in daily life, by most Americans' distance from agricultural practice, by our collective creation of vastly different environments. Our common sense thus acts on different substrates; our understanding functions by different metaphors. . . . This is a world we moderns have lost. We are profoundly estranged from the ways people of not so many generations ago, inhabiting land many of us now think of as ours, felt and saw and spoke about the world around them.

Valencius's refreshingly original account contains a real admiration for the sensitivity that our ancestors displayed for the landscape. The loss of such knowledge of our past is to be regretted not only for the craft of writing history, but perhaps also as a more general reminder that our forebears knew something that we do not about our health and its connection to a natural world. ♦

Comeback Kid

The Return of Chip Hilton.

BY THOMAS M. DEFRANK

Joe DiMaggio and Ted Williams are gone—but at least Chip Hilton is back. That's good news for sports-loving boys desperately in need of someone to admire in this age of steroids, rampant drug use, and pro stars with rap sheets as elaborate as their tattoos.

If you don't remember Chip, then you weren't a young jock in the 1950s and early 1960s, avidly following the exploits of Hilton and his pals at Valley Falls High School and later State College. The tow-headed, triple-threat Hilton was the creation of Clair Bee, the famous basketball coach for Long Island University, a national powerhouse in the 1930s and 1940s.

Bee still holds the record for lifetime winning percentage among college basketball coaches, an astonishing 82.6 percent. An annual "Clair Bee Award" honors college basketball coaches—and, even more interestingly, an annual "Chip Hilton Award" is given to the basketball player who exemplifies the character traits of Bee's fictional hero. Bee wrote twenty-three Hilton novels, which sold—despite stiff competition from Nancy Drew and the Hardy Boys mysteries—more than 2.2 million copies. Young readers inspired by the series include author John Grisham,

Thomas M. DeFrank is Washington bureau chief of the New York Daily News.

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sportscaster Bob Costas, Baltimore Orioles manager Mike Hargrove, and basketball coaches Dean Smith and Bob Knight. (Knight knew Bee well when he was an assistant at West Point and Bee was athletic director at nearby New York Military Academy after leaving LIU in the wake of a point-shaving scandal in which he was not implicated.)

The books have been out of print for nearly forty years, but no more. A Nashville religious publisher, Broadman & Holman, started reissuing them in paperback four years ago. The entire series is now on bookshelves, joined in August by an unexpected delight—*Fiery Fullback*, a twenty-fourth volume whose manuscript Bee never submitted to his publisher because he feared Chip had become passé.

The resurrection of Hilton and his sports-happy associates, however, comes with a few twists that some readers will find jarring. There's the obligatory infusion of ethnic and gender diversity, which serves to remind us that it isn't just liberals who play the political correctness game. But the primary departure from the originals is an unapologetic insertion of religious themes to appeal to Christian readers. "Our audience demands something a little more overt in terms of Christian concept," says Gary Terashita, the publisher's senior acquisitions editor. "That's part of our mission statement as well as a marketing consideration."

The new books, which have sold about half a million copies and are nearing profitability, are also doing well in nonreligious bookstores. Clearly, the book-publishing rules are changing. Harry Potter has broken all the conventional notions about how kids aren't reading anymore. The runaway success of "Left Behind" books buttresses the publisher's belief that "religious references don't impede sales in the commercial market," as marketing director Paul Mikos puts it.

Still, the literary tampering doesn't go down well with all readers, including many, now in their fifties, who attended a recent Long Island University symposium to celebrate those halcyon days in which they learned life's lessons from Chip and his supporting cast—Speed Morris, Soapy Smith, Biggie Cohen, Red Schwartz, Fireball Finley, and the crusty but nurturing Coach Henry Rockwell.

The fans who journeyed to Brooklyn from nineteen states are the truest of believers, willing to pay $750 for a copy of *Hungry Hurler*, the last and rarest original. One of them, Gordon Mehaffey of Fortville, Indiana, named his firstborn son Chip. Barry Hauser of Hollywood, Florida, owned fifteen hundred copies until his exasperated wife forced him to prune it back to a mere four hundred. "And compared to some collectors," Hauser says, "I am totally sane."

Clair Bee

Bettmann / CORBIS

These are the guys who read Hiltons with flashlights under their bedsheets, celebrate the books a half-century later as a magical link to lost childhood, and echo what Bob Knight writes in a foreword to one of the new editions: "The lessons that Clair Bee teaches through Chip Hilton and his exploits are the most meaningful and priceless examples of what is right and fair about life that I have ever read."

Alex Orlov, who learned about Hilton as a young basketball nut in Stalingrad and is now sports editor of *New Russian Word*, the oldest Russian language newspaper in America, was particularly dismissive of the makeovers. "If you read *A Farewell to Arms*, it's not politically correct," he said. "But no one would think of changing Hemingway's words. Leo Tolstoy and Alexander Pushkin were slaveowners. Nobody talks about rewriting them. Books are a product of their time. Rewriting history for this political correctness is a very bad thing."

Cindy Bee Farley, who bears a striking resemblance to her father and reworked the books with her husband Randy, is sympathetic, to a point. "We would have preferred not to change a single word," Cindy says bluntly, "but then nobody would have published them." And a fresh generation of eight- to twelve-year-olds would never be exposed to the old-fashioned values of Chip Hilton, a hero for all times.

An athlete of unparalleled prowess, Chip leads his teammates to triumph upon triumph on the football field, basketball court, and baseball diamond. Perennially All-State and All-America, he is the Michael Jordan of his era. Particularly in football, Chip does it all: quarterbacks the team, booms kickoffs and punts, plays free safety, and kicks field goals. At one point, he throws 176 passes without an interception, and wins the Heisman Trophy as a sophomore. He also tosses no-hitters and leads the nation in scoring in basketball.

He is a combination of Winston Churchill, Sergeant Preston of the Yukon, and Florence Nightingale, navigating challenging moral conflicts with wisdom beyond his years and a rock-solid set of values instilled by his widowed mom. Chip would never wear an earring or tattoo, much less choke his coach or throw his naked wife out of the house. He's so squeaky clean he refuses an athletic scholarship to work his way through State. "I want to play sports without any strings, just for the sake of the sport," he tells an incredulous coach in *Buzzer Basket*. "Getting a scholarship for playing is like getting paid."

With such a young wunderkind at the helm, it's hardly surprising that his teams almost always win, usually in the waning seconds, and as a result of

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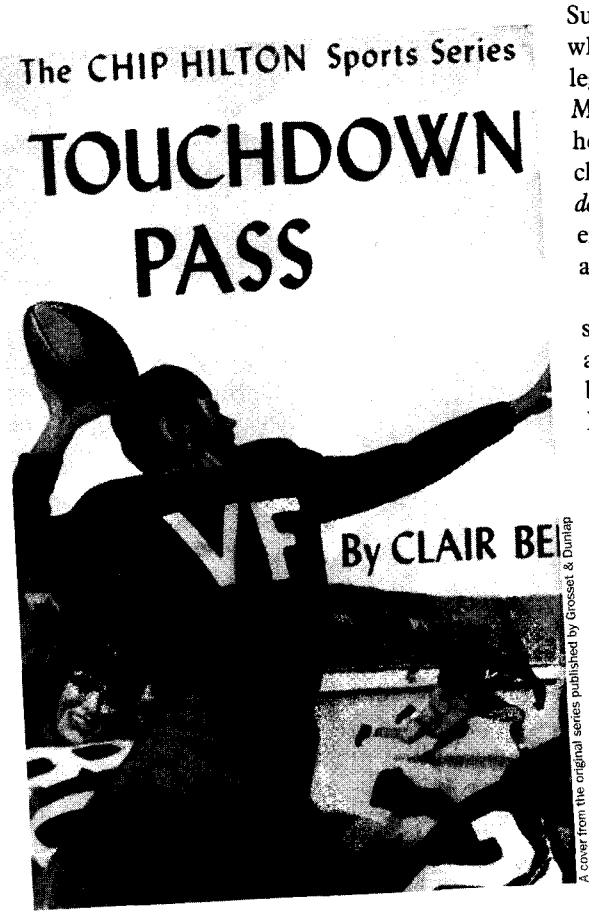
Chip's heroics. When his teams—the Big Reds and the Statesmen—are outscored, it's just a fluke or rotten luck: a basketball deflates, an infield grounder hits a pebble and rolls the wrong way, a ringer causes a forfeit.

But even such rare setbacks build character—and that's the point. The Hilton books are morality tales, a *Book of Virtues* for jocks. In every volume Chip confronts a crisis that arises in the guise of a troubled teammate, a dirty coach, an unscrupulous scout, a venal businessman, or an unprincipled sportswriter. These conflicts are the genius of the books, keeping readers hooked while waiting for the payoff pitch, wondering how Chip will navigate the ethical shoals. Of course, he always does. "The more Chip gave to others, the more that came back to him," says Rick McGuire, the track-and-field coach at the University of Missouri. "That message is as old as time."

Even so, reviving the series wasn't easy. Most publishers, believing that young males don't read anymore, wouldn't touch them. Others were interested, but wanted full control of the character. They thought Chip was too "white bread," out of touch with contemporary youth. One said he'd have to sport an earring, maybe a tattoo, and flip his baseball cap backwards. And he'd need to start scoring with the coeds, too. (For all his savvy, Chip is a klutz around females.) Even the outside consultant who read the originals for the eventual publisher insisted that "Chip" was a stupid nickname and would have to go. ("Brandon" Hilton, perhaps?)

But the Farleys were adamant: Times may change, but never Chip Hilton. They refused to relinquish control of Chip's persona. Finally—with the collaboration of John Humphrey, a Hilton fan who runs a Dallas group that promotes character in sports and life—Broadman & Holman agreed to take the project on, with, as Cindy Farley delicately phrases it, "some mandates."

That's an understatement. The books have been updated to reflect changes in sports strategy and society at large, and most of the alterations are unobjectionable. These days, Chip watches ESPN and HBO, has a cat, reads *Sports Illustrated*, does his homework on a computer, and e-mails his mom every day instead of writing. Speed Morris's jalopy is now a flashy red Mustang, SUVs have replaced touring cars, and the Rockefellers have given way to Bill Gates. The sports heroes of a half-century ago have been supplanted by more recent superstars: Jerry Rice, Emmitt Smith, Larry Bird.



A cover from the original series published by Grosset & Dunlap

The cover art has been redone to appeal to today's young jocks. The leather football helmets and dumpy uniforms are gone, replaced with streamlined plastic headgear with bright logos on the side and spiffier duds. The covers are glitzier and gauzier.

Other changes are goofier, though still innocuous. A renegade coach's name is changed from Bracken to Brasher for no discernible reason. In the original *Touchdown Pass*, Coach Henry Rockwell blasts his charges: "This isn't a football team—it's a bunch of drugstore cowboys!" In the makeover, they're "a bunch of wimpy couch potatoes!"

In the originals, it's clear to even a casual reader that Hilton's best friend is Soapy Smith, a red-headed teammate and wisecracking soda jerk at the Sugar Bowl, the local hangout where Chip works to save for college. But in the updates, Speed Morris is the new best friend—and he's undergone a pigmentation change. In the first volume, *Touchdown Pass*, we learn, "Speed's powerful black hand slid the ball around in front of his body."

Cindy Farley insists that when she read the books decades ago, "I always envisioned Speed as black." That's a pretty hard sell. Regardless, it's gratuitous. The series already had a black athlete, Clem Barnes (who's called Brevin Barnes in the new books), and he's the central character in an ugly incident in *Hoop Crazy*. When a racist hotel manager tries to send Barnes to a colored hotel, Rockwell threatens to pull his team until the bigot backs off. He also persuades his coaching counterpart to shut down a boycott by his players. "The best player gets the job irrespective of race, creed or color!" Rockwell thunders, risking the wrath of his fans and alumni by making Barnes a starter.

The diversity changes don't end there. Two of Bee's main characters were Jewish—Biggie Cohen ("hands like ham hocks") and Red Schwartz—but he was short on Hispanics and Asians. So in the new books, Buzz Todd becomes Miguel "Mike" Rodriguez. Bill Porter and Johnny Bates are John Park and Alex Rodriguez. The personnel guy at the Valley Falls pottery, Pete Simpkins, is now Jonathan Kim. And in *Ten Seconds to Play*, the track coach at A & M, State College's archrival, is no

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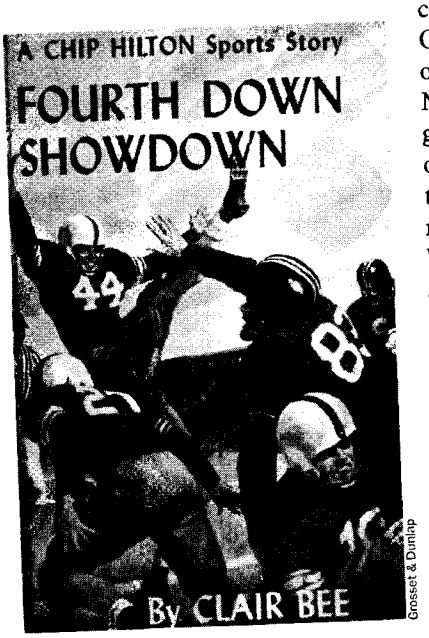
longer Jimmie Hale. He's Dong Shul Kim.

The publisher seems to have suffered heartburn over Bee's nicknames. "Stinky," "Fats," "Piggie," "Tuffy," "Buster," "Butch," and even "Skinny" have disappeared. Predictably, women characters have been enhanced, but not much, since these are guys' books. The changes are so slight that they smack of tokenism. In *Freshman Quarterback*, for example, State College's team doctor has a secretary. In the update, she's a twofer: "Sondra Ruiz, Dr. Terring's physician assistant." In *A Pass and a Prayer*, the high school principal gets a vice principal, "Ms. Pearce," who is never mentioned again.



Then there is Mary Hilton. If ever a literary figure *didn't* need a makeover, it is Chip's endearing single mom. As *Sports Illustrated*'s Jack McCallum, a certified Hilton fan, has observed: "Compared to Mary Hilton, Mother Teresa is a cold-hearted, indifferent clod. The perspicacity of Mary Hilton's decisions was surpassed only by the fluffiness of her chocolate cakes." It was Mary who held the little family together after her husband, Big Chip Hilton, died in an accident while saving a careless worker at the pottery. Mary took a job at the telephone company to make ends meet and scrape together enough for Chip to follow in his father's three-sports shoes at State.

In the new versions, she's a supervisor, after getting an associate degree on the side. But that isn't enough. The new, not-so-improved Mary is practically a babe: "Mary Hilton strode confidently through the telephone company parking lot, as the autumn breeze swept through her shoulder-length blond hair," we learn in *Touchdown Pass*. Eight volumes later, in *Freshman Quarterback*, we learn for the first time that Mary was quite an athlete in her day: "Mary Hilton, herself a tough tennis opponent and competitive golfer, had enjoyed sports all her life, first as a member of Valley Falls High School's varsity soccer and tennis teams."

The central change in the new books is an emphasis on spiritual themes. The Farleys are careful not to pick a fight with the publishers, to whom they're indebted for redeeming their pledge to a dying Clair Bee and bringing these delightful books back to bookshelves. "They took a real chance with us," Cindy says, "and we owe them a lot." Neither does she gloss over the obvious: "They wanted to have stronger religious content. We had some fights about that."

If you read the originals, you knew Chip went to church. It just wasn't a big deal. Now it is: Church and prayer are mentioned many more times, and more fulsomely, as in *Buzzer Basket:* "Chip picked up his Bible and headed out the door with Soapy." And bit characters suddenly sport biblical names—like Caleb, Moses, Isaiah, and Solomon. In the original *Hoop Crazy*, Mary Hilton invites the oily con man T.A.K. Baxter to Christmas dinner. "Baxter said it was an imposition, but he gracefully consented to come because he knew she was influenced by the Christmas spirit." The makeover spins it this way: "Baxter said it was an imposition, but he gracefully consented because he knew she was influenced by her Christian spirit." And when Mary Hilton is diagnosed with cancer in *Backboard Fever*, "Chip Hilton's world came crashing down around him like the walls of Jericho." Broadman & Holman don't want any of their readers to think the devil is glorified. In *Ten Seconds to Play*, Bee talks approvingly about players who "fought like demons." Now they battle "like Tasmanian Devils."

The most glaring instance of pressing a religious agenda occurs in *No-Hitter*, the seventeenth book. Before leaving on a goodwill baseball tour in Japan, Chip is handed a traditional good luck charm by Frank Okada, a Japanese student he's befriended. The original reads: "'I wanted to see you off, Chip,' Frank said, pressing a number of small objects into Chip's hand. 'These are called ofuda, good-luck charms. They will guard you on your trip.'" It's a little different in the reissue: "Chip studied the shiny metal shapes in his hand and thought carefully before responding. 'Thanks for the thought behind these, Frank. I know you mean well, but I can't accept them. I don't believe luck can protect me; I believe God takes care of me,' he said lightly." "We're Christians," Cindy Farley says, "but we thought that was unacceptable because it changed Chip's character. He would never refuse a gift from a friend."

To their credit, the publishers are forthright about their faith-based intentions. "Our core customers are in the Christian Booksellers Association," Mikos says. "But there's a wider audience today for more wholesome content. My theory is that audience has been there all along." Some may worry that the Farleys, who promised Clair Bee they would somehow find a way to get the books reprinted, have made a literary deal with the devil for the sake of commercial viability. Purists, like me, think the originals are just plain more appealing and evocative.

And yet, for all the tinkering and tampering, the crux of the books, the time-tested values that Chip epitomizes—self-reliance, sportsmanship, selflessness, moral and physical courage, integrity, loyalty, persistence, and teamwork—remain unscathed, available to shape and inspire a new generation unborn back when Chip was always doing the right thing. In these turbulent times, perhaps that's worth a quiet prayer of thanks. ♦

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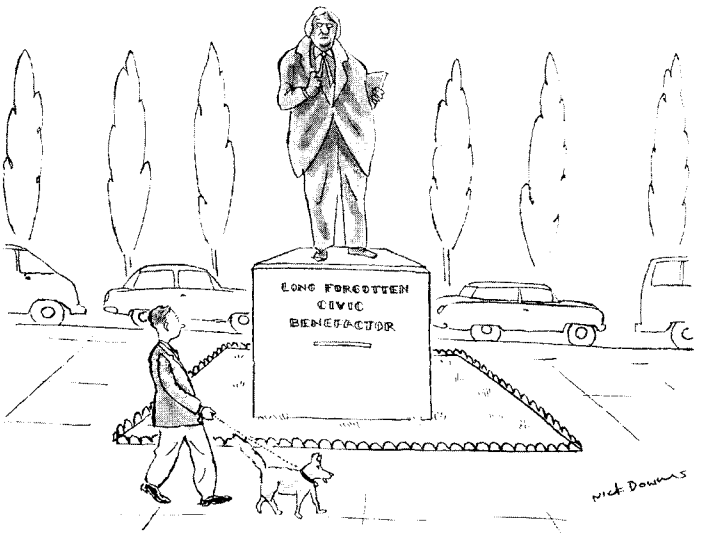

Not the New York Review of Books

From 1982 until its demise in 1988, the *Claremont Review of Books* was an important publication, particularly for conservatives who had few other venues in which to present their ideas. Returning to print in November 2000, the revived quarterly has just put out its Fall 2002 issue—and what seemed through its first seven issues to be a promising addition to our intellectual life has now become a real and (we hope) permanent ornament. With a redesigned layout and art by Elliott Banfield (who also contributes a fine essay on a proper September 11 memorial for New York), the issue features fine review essays by, among others, editor Charles Kesler, Mark Blitz, James Higgins, and Delba Winthrop, on topics as diverse as America, Heidegger, globalization, and Tocqueville. And there's more. Take a look at *www.claremont.org*.

Meanwhile, for publishing moving in the other direction, take a look at John Lehmann's hilarious account in the August 28 *New York Post* about Simon & Schuster's printing of Michael Gambino's *The Honored Society*. Described by the publisher as "the highest-ranking mob member" ever to write about the Mafia, the author said he was the grandson of Carlo Gambino (often claimed to be the original for Mario Puzo's *The Godfather*). Actually, Lehmann reports, he was "a Las Vegas-based con man" named Michael Pellegrino, and he took Simon & Schuster for a half-million-dollar advance. The real Michael Gambino is Gambino's great-grandson, a sixteen-year-old boy in New York. Simon & Schuster is suing Pellegrino and his literary agents (the remnants of Michael Ovitz's Artists Management Group) for fraud in the unlikely hope of getting their money back. "I'm committed to making a different life for myself," Pellegrino aka Gambino writes in *The Honored Society*. "I gave up a lot of money and power, but I feel so much better." The Godfather would have been proud. ♦

Books in Brief

***Letters to a Young Conservative* by Dinesh D'Souza (Basic, 224 pp., $22).** The latest in Basic's "Art of Mentoring" series, D'Souza's collection of letters to a fictitious college student provides a sharp and funny deconstruction of contemporary university life. The protester who screams, "Stop this man from speaking," and then, "I am being censored," as the police drag her away. The scholar of postmodernism who objects to economic elitism while writing in language that is intentionally inaccessible. The member of the International Students Association who admires India for being "liberating" though he has never been there to observe the caste system.

While the satire is the best part of *Letters to a Young Conservative*, what D'Souza really offers is a plan of action for conservative college students. In his first chapter he gives a brief political and philosophical explanation of conservatism (which occasionally sounds as though conservatism is defined by "us versus them"). He then calls for radical anti-liberalism from young conservatives, based on his own experiences in college as an editor of the outspoken *Dartmouth Review*. In a chapter entitled "How to Harpoon a Liberal," he describes his own rhetorical methods for undercutting liberal clichés.

All of these will be valuable to the uninitiated. Yet young readers should be a little careful. The polarized battle D'Souza paints between liberalism and conservatism—while certainly appropriate to the extremism of a university setting—may not be the best paradigm for those trying to figure out where they fit.

Likewise, though he offers suggestions for right-wing activism that would certainly serve to give campuses a much-needed opposing voice, he offers little vision for moving beyond it. He also runs the risk of isolating some readers by making a distinction between "high brow" and "low brow" universities.

Still, *Letters to a Young Conservative* is a useful book to have in hand when enrolling in a university these days. And for everyone else, it is a very funny reminder of what they've managed to escape.

—*Erin Sheley*

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4A · MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 2003 · USA TODAY

Media Giants Pause to Remember Their One Year Commemorations

By Naji Sabri
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON, D.C. — As September 11, 2003, approaches, magazines, television networks, and newspapers are ramping up their coverage to commemorate the first anniversary of their one year commemoration of September 11, 2001.

September 11, 2002, will long be remembered as a nightmarish day in American history. It was a day when no sentiment went unexploited, no act of emotional exhibitionism went unexpressed, when no publication failed to do its utmost to hype and cheapen the grief of the public.

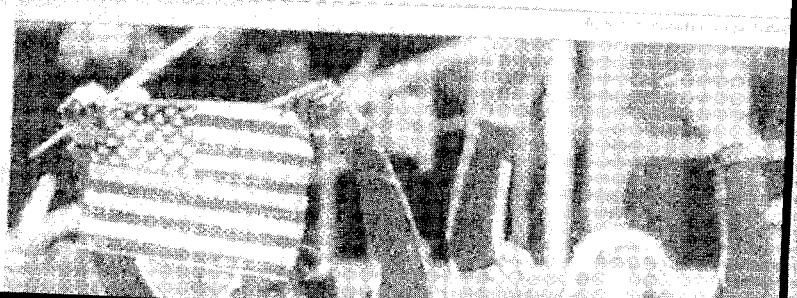
"I will always remember where I was when I first saw Entertainment Tonight's segment 'One Year Later: Will We Ever Laugh Again?'" says Polly Horshbarger, a homemaker in Huntington Beach, California. "Seeing mawkishness like that face to face just made me want to call my family and be with my loved ones."

Church attendance soared in the USA on September 11, 2002, as Americans of all faiths sought a place where they were unlikely to see Time magazine's commemorative package.

This year the New York Times will run a special section to reflect upon the special section it ran last year, called "A Nation Re-Challenged." This year's section will be entitled, "America Remembers 'A Nation Re-Challenged.'"

Meanwhile, over at CBS, Dan Rather will cry while watching video clips of himself crying on September 11, 2002, while watching video clips of himself crying on September 11, 2001.

Continued on 5A ▶



the weekly Standard
September 16, 2002

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The Crisis Role of the University

John H. Bunzel is a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution; past president of San Jose State University; and a former member of the U.S. Commission of Civil Rights.

Why, one wonders, are various conservatives and other voices of the political right seemingly driven to drawing up enemy lines?

In the late 1940s, they produced blacklists of men and women in Hollywood and the media whom the right charged with being Communists or sympathizers. In 1950, Senator Joseph McCarthy came up with his famous (but nonexistent) list of 205 names "known to the secretary of state as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping the policy of the State Department." And President Nixon had his own enemies list.

Several months after the horrific events of September 11 came another list, compiled by the conservative American Council of Trustees and Alumni. **Condemning what it called a "blame America first" reaction on college campuses, the list singled out certain professors as the "weak link" in America's response to the attacks of September 11** for pointing "accusatory fingers" at the United States instead of the terrorists.

Senator Joseph Lieberman called the council's report "unfair and inconsistent for an organization devoted to promoting academic freedom" and asked that it cease referring to him as a "cofounder."

It is not necessary to expand on the importance of the university as an institution of free speech (acknowledged by the council). What needs to be emphasized is that the current threats to academic freedom are significantly different from those that defined the McCarthy era.

Fifty years ago the government tried to tell the public what was permissible and impermissible speech. Today, as many observers have noted, it is public sentiment that often dictates behavior.

This is why a responsibility of the council should be to strengthen the resolve of trustees to protect the university from the intrusion of politics and the passions of an aroused off-campus public. In its zeal to expose "patriotic incorrectness," the council should not lose sight of a vital role of universities in a time of crisis.

Many professors (especially in the humanities and social sciences) are openly left-liberal in their political outlook. Some of them used the events of September 11 to express their enmity toward the United States in statements such as "We have ourselves to blame for the attacks."

A campus is where one expects to hear outrageous and offensive ideas and where one has the right to be outraged and offended. But it's also where one has been able to hear thoughtful and deliberative discussions of how to fight terrorism, discussions that go beyond choices of "right versus wrong" and the dictum "you are either with us or against us."

One may strongly support the goal of eradicating terrorism but still question whether our means and actions may sometimes be working against our best interests.

Conservatives should be among the first to insist that the unhindered and "robust exchange of ideas" our universities provide should not be reduced to easy or simplistic moral categories.

— John H. Bunzel

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

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